CHARLES Vth.
Emperor of Germany.

Titian pinx.t *Jno. Hall sc.*

1736
1705

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

By WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D. D.
PRINCIPAL of the Univerſity of EDINBURGH, and HISTORIOGRAPHER to his MAJESTY for SCOTLAND.

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THE

HISTORY

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EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK I.

Book I.

Birth of Charles V.

CHARLES V. was born at Ghent on the twenty-fourth day of February, in the year one thousand five hundred. His father, Philip the Handsome, Archduke of Austria, was the son of the Emperor Maximilian, and of Mary, the only child of Charles the Bold, the last prince of the house of Burgundy. His mother, Joanna, was the second daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Castile and Aragon.

His dominions, and the events by which he acquired them.

A LONG train of fortunate events had opened the way for this young prince to the inheritance of

Book I. of more extenſive dominions, than any European monarch, ſince Charles the Great, had poſſeſſed. Each of his anceſtors had acquired kingdoms or provinces, towards which their proſpect of ſucceſſion was extremely remote. The rich poſſeſſions of Mary of Burgundy were deſtined for another family, ſhe having been contracted by her father to the only ſon of Louis XI. of France; but that capricious monarch, indulging his hatred to her family, choſe rather to ſtrip her of part of her territories by force, than to ſecure the whole by marriage; and by this miſconduct, fatal to his poſterity, threw all the Netherlands and Franche Comté into the hands of a rival. Iſabella, the daughter of John II. of Caſtile, far from having any proſpect of that noble inheritance which ſhe tranſmitted to her grandſon, paſſed the early part of her life in obſcurity and indigence. But the Caſtilians, exaſperated againſt her brother Henry IV. an ill-adviſed and vicious prince, publickly charged him with impotence, and his queen with adultery; and, upon his demiſe, rejecting Joanna, whom the king had uniformly, and even on his death-bed, owned to be his lawful daughter, and whom an aſſembly of the ſtates had acknowledged to be the heir of his kingdom, they obliged her to retire into Portugal, and placed Iſabella on the throne of Caſtile. Ferdinand owed the crown of Aragon to the unexpected

death of his elder brother, and acquired the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily by violating the faith of treaties, and diſregarding the ties of blood. To all theſe kingdoms, Chriſtopher Columbus, by an effort of genius and of intrepidity, the boldeſt and moſt ſucceſsful that is recorded in the annals of mankind, added a new world, the wealth of which was one conſiderable ſource of the power and grandeur of the Spaniſh monarchs.

Book I.

Philip and Joanna, his father and mother, viſit Spain.

Don John, the only ſon of Ferdinand and Iſabella, and their eldeſt daughter, the queen of Portugal, being cut off in the flower of youth, all their hopes centured in Joanna and her poſterity. But as her huſband, the Archduke, was a ſtranger to the Spaniards, it was thought expedient to invite him into Spain, that by reſiding among them, he might accuſtom himſelf to their laws and manners; and it was expected that the Cortes, or aſſembly of ſtates, whoſe authority was then ſo great in Spain, that no title to the crown was reckoned valid unleſs it received their ſanction, would acknowledge his right of ſucceſſion, together with that of the Infanta, his wife. Philip and Joanna, paſſing through France in their way to Spain, were entertained in that kingdom with the utmoſt magnificence. The Archduke did homage to Louis XII. for the earldom of Flanders, and 1502.

Book I. took his ſeat as a peer of the realm in the parliament of Paris. They were received in Spain with every mark of honour that the parental affection of Ferdinand and Iſabella, or the reſpect of their ſubjects, could deviſe; and their title to the crown was ſoon after acknowledged by the Cortes of both kingdoms.

Ferdinand jealous of Philip's power.

But amidſt theſe outward appearances of ſatisfaction and joy, ſome ſecret uneaſineſs preyed upon the mind of each of theſe princes. The ſtately and reſerved ceremonial of the Spaniſh court, was ſo burdenſome to Philip, a prince young, gay, affable, fond of ſociety and of pleaſure, that he ſoon began to expreſs a deſire of returning to his native country, the manners of which were more ſuited to his temper. Ferdinand, obſerving the declining health of his queen, with whoſe life his right to the government of Caſtile muſt ceaſe, eaſily foreſaw, that a prince of Philip's diſpoſition, and who already diſcovered an extreme impatience to reign, would never conſent to his retaining any degree of authority in that kingdom; and the proſpect of this diminution of his power, awakened the jealouſy of that ambitious monarch.

Iſabella's ſolicitude, with reſpect to him and her daughter.

Isabella beheld, with the ſentiments natural to a mother, the indifference and neglect with which the Archduke treated her daughter, who was

was deſtitute of all thoſe beauties of perſon, and all thoſe accompliſhments of mind, which fix the affections of an huſband. Her underſtanding, always weak, was often diſordered. She doated on Philip with ſuch an exceſs of childiſh and indiſcreet fondneſs, as excited diſguſt rather than affection. Her jealouſy, for which her huſband's behaviour gave her too much cauſe, was proportioned to her love, and often broke out in the moſt extravagant actions. Iſabella, though ſenſible of her defects, could not help pitying her condition, which was ſoon rendered altogether deplorable, by the Archduke's abrupt reſolution of ſetting out in the middle of winter for Flanders, and of leaving her in Spain. Iſabella intreated him not to abandon his wife to grief and melancholy, which might prove fatal to her, as ſhe was near the time of her delivery. Joanna conjured him to put off his journey for three days only, that ſhe might have the pleaſure of celebrating the feſtival of Chriſtmas in his company. Ferdinand, after repreſenting the imprudence of his leaving Spain, before he had time to become acquainted with the genius, or to gain the affections of the people who were one day to be his ſubjects, beſought him, at leaſt, not to paſs through France, with which kingdom he was then at open war. Philip, without regarding either the dictates of humanity, or the maxims of prudence, perſiſted

BOOK I.

Book I. in his purpose, and on the twenty-second of December set out for the Low Countries, by the way of France [a].

Disorder of Joanna's mind. Birth of Ferdinand, afterwards Emperor.

From the moment of his departure, Joanna sunk into a deep and sullen melancholy [b], and while she was in that situation bore Ferdinand her second son, for whom the power of his brother Charles afterwards procured the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, and to whom he at last transmitted the Imperial sceptre. Joanna was the only person in Spain who discovered no joy at the birth of this prince. Insensible to that, as well as to every other pleasure, she was wholly occupied with the thoughts of returning to her husband; nor did she, in any degree, recover tranquillity of mind, until

1504. she arrived at Brussels next year [c].

Philip, in passing through France, had an interview with Louis XII. and signed a treaty with him, by which he hoped that all the differences between France and Spain would have been finally terminated. But Ferdinand, whose affairs, at that time, were extremely prosperous in Italy, where the superior genius of Gonsalvo

[a] Petri Martyris Anglerii Epistolæ, 250. 253.

[b] Id. Epist. 255.

[c] Mariana, lib. 27. c. 11, 14. Flechier Vie de Ximen. I. 191.

de Cordova, the great captain, triumphed on every occaſion over the arms of France, did not pay the leaſt regard to what his ſon-in-law had concluded, and carried on hoſtilities with greater ardour than ever. Book I.

Death of Iſabella.

From this time Philip ſeems not to have taken any part in the affairs of Spain, waiting in quiet till the death either of Ferdinand or of Iſabella ſhould open the way to one of their thrones. The latter of theſe events was not far diſtant. The untimely death of her children had made a deep impreſſion on the mind of Iſabella, and as ſhe could derive but little conſolation for the loſſes which ſhe had ſuſtained either from her daughter Joanna, whoſe infirmities daily increaſed, or from her ſon-in-law, who no longer preſerved even the appearance of a decent reſpect towards that unhappy princeſs, her ſpirits and health began gradually to decline, and after languiſhing ſome months, ſhe died at Medina del Campo on the twenty-ſixth of November, one thouſand five hundred and four. She was no leſs eminent for virtue, than for wiſdom; and whether we conſider her behaviour as a queen, as a wife, or as a mother, ſhe is juſtly entitled to the high encomiums beſtowed on her by the Spaniſh hiſtorians [d].

[d] P. Mart. Ep. 279.

 A few

Book I.

Her will, appointing Ferdinand regent of Castile.

A few weeks before her death, ſhe made her laſt will, and being ſenſible of Joanna's incapacity to aſſume the reins of government into her own hands, and having no inclination to commit them to Philip, with whoſe conduct ſhe was extremely diſſatisfied, ſhe appointed Ferdinand regent or adminiſtrator of the affairs of Caſtile until her grandſon Charles ſhould attain the age of twenty. She bequeathed to Ferdinand likewiſe one half of the revenues that ſhould ariſe from the Indies, together with the grand maſterſhips of the three military orders; dignities, that rendered the perſon who poſſeſſed them almoſt independent, and which Iſabella had, for that reaſon, annexed to the crown [e]. But before ſhe ſigned a deed ſo favourable to Ferdinand, ſhe obliged him to ſwear that he would not, by a ſecond marriage, or by any other means, endeavour to deprive Joanna or her poſterity of their right of ſucceſſion to any of his kingdoms [f].

Immediately upon the queen's death, Ferdinand reſigned the title of king of Caſtile, and commanded Joanna and Philip to be publickly proclaimed the ſovereigns of that kingdom. But, at the ſame time, he aſſumed the character

[e] P. Martyr. Ep. 277. Mar. Hiſt. lib. 28. c. 11. Ferreras Hiſt. Gener. d'Eſpagne, tom. viii. 263.

[f] Mar. Hiſt. lib. 28. c. 14.

of

of Regent, in consequence of Isabella's testament, and not long after he prevailed on the Cortes of Castile to acknowledge his right to that office. This, however, he did not procure without difficulty, nor without discovering such symptoms of alienation and disgust among the Castilians as filled him with great uneasiness. The union of Castile and Aragon, for almost thirty years, had not so entirely extirpated the ancient and hereditary enmity which subsisted between the natives of these kingdoms, that the Castilian pride could submit, without murmuring, to the government of a king of Aragon. Ferdinand's own character, with which the Castilians were well acquainted, was far from rendering his authority desirable. Suspicious, discerning, severe and parsimonious, he was accustomed to observe the most minute actions of his subjects with a jealous attention, and to reward their highest services with little liberality; and they were now deprived of Isabella, whose gentle qualities, and partiality to her Castilian subjects, often tempered his austerity, or rendered it tolerable. The maxims of his government were especially odious to the Grandees; for that artful prince, sensible of the dangerous privileges conferred upon them by the Feudal institutions, had endeavoured to curb their exorbitant power [g], by extending the royal jurisdiction,

Ferdinand acknowledged as regent by the Cortes.

1505.

The Castilians dissatisfied.

[g] Marian. lib. 28. c. 12.

Book I. jurifdiction, by protecting their injured vaffals, by increafing the immunities of cities, and by other meafures equally prudent. From all thefe caufes, a formidable party among the Caftilians united againft Ferdinand, and though thofe who compofed it, had not hitherto taken any publick ftep in oppofition to him, he plainly faw that upon the leaft encouragement from their new king they would proceed to the moft violent extremities.

Philip endeavours to obtain the government of Caftile.

THERE was no lefs agitation in the Netherlands upon receiving the accounts of Ifabella's death, and of Ferdinand's having affumed the government of Caftile. Philip was not of a temper tamely to fuffer himfelf to be fupplanted by the unnatural ambition of his father-in-law. If Joanna's infirmities, and the non-age of Charles rendered them incapable of government, he, as a hufband, was the proper guardian of his wife, and as a father, the natural tutor of his fon. Nor was it fufficient to oppofe to thefe juft rights, and to the inclination of the people of Caftile, the authority of a teftament, the genuinenefs of which was perhaps doubtful, and its contents certainly iniquitous. A keener edge was added to Philip's refentment, and new vigour infufed into his councils by the arrival of Don John Manuel. He was Ferdinand's ambaffador at the Imperial court, but upon the

firft

first notice of Isabella's death repaired to Brussels, flattering himself that in the court of a young and liberal prince, he might attain to power and honours which he could never hope for in the service of an old and frugal master. He had early paid court to Philip during his residence in Spain, with such assiduity as entirely gained his confidence; and having been trained to business under Ferdinand, could oppose his schemes with equal abilities, and with arts not inferior to those for which that monarch was distinguished [h].

He requires Ferdinand to resign the regency.

By his advice, ambassadors were dispatched to require Ferdinand to retire into Aragon, and to resign the government of Castile to those persons whom Philip should entrust with it until his arrival in that kingdom. Such of the Castilian nobles as had discovered any dissatisfaction with Ferdinand's administration, were encouraged by every method to oppose it. At the same time a treaty was concluded with Louis XII. by which Philip flattered himself that he had secured the friendship and assistance of that monarch.

Meanwhile, Ferdinand employed all the arts of address and policy, in order to retain

[h] Zurita Anales de Aragon, tom. vi. p. 12.

the

Book I. the power of which he had got poſſeſſion. By means of Conchillos, an Aragonian gentleman, he entered into a private negociation with Joanna, and prevailed on that weak princeſs to confirm, by her authority, his right to the regency. But this intrigue did not eſcape the penetrating eye of Don John Manuel; Joanna's letter of conſent was intercepted; Conchillos was thrown into a dungeon; and ſhe herſelf confined to an apartment in the palace, and all her Spaniſh domeſticks ſecluded from her preſence [i].

Ferdinand abandoned by the Caſtilian nobles.

The mortification which the diſcovery of this ſcheme occaſioned to Ferdinand, was much increaſed by his obſerving the progreſs that Philip's emiſſaries made in Caſtile. Some of the nobles retired to their caſtles; others to the towns in which they had influence; they formed themſelves into confederacies, and began to aſſemble their vaſſals. Ferdinand's court was almoſt totally deſerted; not a perſon of diſtinction but Ximenes, archbiſhop of Toledo, the duke of Alva, and the marquis of Denia, remaining there; while the houſes of Philip's ambaſſadors were daily crowded with thoſe of the higheſt rank.

[i] P. Mart. Ep. 287. Zurita Anales vi. p. 14.

Exasperated

EXASPERATED at this universal defection, and piqued, perhaps, at seeing all his schemes defeated by a younger politician, Ferdinand resolved, in defiance of the law of nature, and of decency, to deprive his daughter and her posterity of the crown of Castile, rather than renounce the regency of that kingdom. His plan for accomplishing this was no less bold, than the intention itself was wicked. He demanded in marriage Joanna, the supposed daughter of Henry IV. on the belief of whose illegitimacy, Isabella's right to the crown of Castile was founded; and by reviving the claim of this princess, in opposition to which he himself had formerly led armies, and fought battles, he hoped once more to get possession of the throne of that kingdom. But Emanuel, King of Portugal, in whose dominions Joanna resided, being married to one of Ferdinand's daughters by Isabella, refused his consent to that unnatural match; and the unhappy princess herself, having lost, by being long immured in a convent, all relish for the objects of ambition, discovered no less aversion to it[k].

Book I.

Ferdinand resolves to marry, in order to exclude his daughter from the throne.

THE resources, however, of Ferdinand's ambition, were not exhausted. Upon meeting with a repulse

Marries a niece of the French King.

[k] Sandov. Hist. of Civil Wars in Castile. Lond. 1655. p. 5. Zurita Anales de Aragon, tom. vi. p. 213.

Book I. a repulſe in Portugal, he turned towards France, and ſought in marriage Germaine de Foix, a daughter of the viſcount of Narbonne, and of Mary, the ſiſter of Louis XII. The war which that monarch had carried on againſt Ferdinand in Naples, had been ſo unfortunate, that he liſtened with joy to a propoſal, which furniſhed him with an honourable pretence of concluding peace: And though no prince was ever more remarkable than Ferdinand for making all his paſſions bend to the maxims of intereſt, or become ſubſervient to the purpoſes of ambition, yet ſo vehement was his reſentment againſt his ſon-in-law, that the deſire of gratifying it rendered him regardleſs of every conſideration. In order to be revenged of Philip, by detaching Louis from his intereſt, and in order to gain a chance of excluding him from his hereditary throne of Aragon, and the dominions annexed to it, he was ready once more to divide Spain into ſeparate kingdoms, though the union of theſe was the great glory of his reign, and had been the chief object of his ambition; he conſented to reſtore the Neapolitan nobles of the French faction to their poſſeſſions and honours; and ſubmitted to the ridicule of marrying, in an advanced age, a princeſs of eighteen [1].

[1] P. Mart. Ep. 290. 292. Mariana lib. 28. c. 16, 17.

THE

The conclusion of this match, which deprived Philip of his only ally, and threatened him with the loss of so many kingdoms, gave a dreadful alarm to him, and convinced Don John Manuel that there was now a necessity of taking other measures with regard to the affairs of Spain [m]. He accordingly instructed the Flemish ambassadors in the court of Spain, to testify the strong desire which their master had of terminating all differences between him and Ferdinand in an amicable manner, and his willingness to consent to any conditions that would re-establish the friendship which ought to subsist between a father and a son-in-law. Ferdinand, though he had made and broken more treaties than any prince of any age, was apt to confide so far in the sincerity of other men, or to depend so much upon his own address and their weakness, as to be always extremely fond of a negociation. He listened with eagerness to these declarations, and soon concluded a treaty at Salamanca; in which it was stipulated, that the government of Castile should be carried on in the joint names of Joanna, of Ferdinand, and of Philip; and that the revenues of the crown, as well as the right of conferring offices, should be shared between Ferdinand and Philip by an equal division [n].

Book I.

A treaty between Ferdinand and Philip.

Nov. 24.

[m] P. Mart. Ep. 293. [n] Zurita Anales de Aragon, vi. 19. P. Mart. Ep. 293, 294.

NOTHING,

Book I. 1506. Philip and Joanna set sail for Spain.

Nothing, however, was farther from Philip's thoughts than to observe this treaty. His sole intention in proposing it was to amuse Ferdinand, and to prevent him from taking any measures for obstructing his voyage into Spain. It had that effect. Ferdinand, sagacious as he was, did not for some time suspect his design; and though when he perceived it, he prevailed on the king of France not only to remonstrate against the Archduke's journey, but to threaten hostilities if he should undertake it; though he solicited the duke of Gueldres to attack his son-in-law's dominions in the Low Countries, Philip and his consort nevertheless set sail with a numerous fleet, and a good body of land forces. They were obliged by a violent tempest to take shelter in England, where Henry VII. in compliance with Ferdinand's solicitations, detained them upwards of three months [o]; at last they were permitted to depart, and after a more prosperous voyage, they arrived in safety at Corunna in Galicia, nor durst Ferdinand attempt, as he had once intended, to oppose their landing by force of arms.

April 28.

The nobility of Castile declare for Philip.

The Castilian nobles, who had been obliged hitherto to conceal or to dissemble their sentiments, now declared openly in favour of Philip.

[o] Ferrer. Hist. viii. 285.

From every corner of the kingdom, persons of the highest rank, with numerous retinues of their vassals, repaired to their new king. The treaty of Salamanca was universally condemned, and all agreed to exclude from the government of Castile a prince, who, by consenting to disjoin Aragon and Naples from that crown, discovered so little concern for its true interests. Ferdinand, mean while, abandoned by almost all the Castilians, disconcerted by their revolt, and uncertain whether he should peaceably relinquish his power, or take arms in order to maintain it, earnestly solicited an interview with his son-in-law, who by advice of Manuel studiously avoided it. Convinced at last, by seeing the number and zeal of Philip's adherents daily increase, that it was vain to think of resisting such a torrent, Ferdinand consented, by a treaty, to resign the regency of Castile into the hands of Philip, to retire into his hereditary dominions of Aragon, and to rest satisfied with the masterships of the military orders, and that share of the revenue of the Indies, which Isabella had bequeathed to him. Though an interview between the princes was no longer necessary, it was agreed to on both sides from motives of decency. Philip repaired to the place appointed with a splendid retinue of the Castilian nobles, and a considerable body of armed men. Ferdinand appeared

June 27. Ferdinand resigns the regency of Castile, and retires to Aragon.

Book I. without any pomp, attended by a few followers, mounted on mules, and unarmed. On that occaſion Don John Manuel had the pleaſure of diſplaying before the monarch whom he had deſerted, the extenſive influence which he had acquired over his new maſter: While Ferdinand ſuffered in preſence of his former ſubjects the two moſt cruel mortifications which an artful and ambitious prince can feel; being at once over-reached in conduct, and ſtripped of power [p].

July. NOT long after, he retired into Aragon; and hoping that ſome favourable accident would ſoon open the way for his return into Caſtile, he took care to proteſt, though with great ſecrecy, that the treaty concluded with his ſon-in-law, being extorted by force, ought to be deemed void of all obligation [q].

Philip and Joanna acknowledged as king and queen by the Cortes.

PHILIP took poſſeſſion of his new authority with a youthful joy. The unhappy Joanna, from whom he derived it, remained during all theſe conteſts, under the dominion of a deep melancholy; ſhe was ſeldom allowed to appear in publick; her father, though he had often deſired it, was refuſed acceſs to her; and Philip's

[p] Zurita Anales de Arag. vi. 64. Mar. lib. 28. c. 19, 20. P. Mart. ep. 304, 305, &c. [q] Zurita Anales de Arag. vi. p. 68. Ferrer. Hiſt. viii. 290.

chief

chief object was to prevail on the Cortes to declare her incapable of government, that an undivided power might be lodged in his hands, until his son should attain to full age. But such was the partial attachment of the Castilians to their native princess, that though Manuel had the address to gain some members of the Cortes assembled at Valladolid, and others were willing to gratify their new sovereign in his first request, the great body of the representatives refused their consent to a declaration which they thought so injurious to the blood of their monarchs [r]. They were unanimous, however, in acknowledging Joanna and Philip, queen and king of Castile, and their son Charles prince of Asturias.

Book I.

THIS was almost the only memorable event during Philip's administration. A fever put an end to his life in the twenty-eighth year of his age, when he had not enjoyed the regal dignity which he had been so eager to obtain full three months [s].

Death of Philip.

Sept. 25.

THE whole royal authority in Castile ought of course to have devolved upon Joanna. But the shock occasioned by a disaster so unexpected as the death of her husband, completed the dis-

The disorder of Joanna's mind increases.

[r] Zurita Anales de Arag. vi. p. 75.

[s] Marian. lib. 28. c. 23.

 order

Book I. order of her underſtanding, and her incapacity for government. During all the time of Philip's ſickneſs, no intreaty could prevail on her, though in the ſixth month of her pregnancy, to leave him for a moment. When he expired, however, ſhe did not ſhed one tear, or utter a ſingle groan. Her grief was ſilent and ſettled. She continued to watch the dead body with the ſame tenderneſs and attention as if it had been alive [t], and though at laſt ſhe permitted it to be buried, ſhe ſoon removed it from the tomb to her own apartment. There it was laid upon a bed of ſtate, in a ſplendid dreſs; and having heard from ſome monk a legendary tale of a king who revived after he had been dead fourteen years, ſhe kept her eyes almoſt conſtantly fixed on the body, waiting for the happy moment of its return to life. Nor was this capricious affection for her dead huſband leſs tinctured with jealouſy, than that which ſhe had born to him while alive. She did not permit any of her female attendants to approach the bed on which his corpſe was laid; ſhe would not ſuffer any woman who did not belong to her family to enter the apartment; and rather than grant that privilege to a midwife, though a very aged one had been choſen of purpoſe, ſhe bore the

[t] P. Mart. Ep. 316.

princeſs

princeſs Catherine without any other aſſiſtance than that of her own domeſtics [u].

A WOMAN in ſuch a ſtate of mind was little capable of governing a great kingdom; and Joanna, who made it her ſole employment to bewail the loſs, and to pray for the ſoul of her huſband, would have thought her attention to public affairs an impious neglect of thoſe duties which ſhe owed to him. But though ſhe declined aſſuming the adminiſtration herſelf, yet, by a ſtrange caprice of jealouſy, ſhe refuſed to commit it to any other perſon; and no intreaty of her ſubjects could perſuade her to name a regent, or even to ſign ſuch papers as were neceſſary for the execution of juſtice, and the ſecurity of the kingdom.

She is incapable of government.

THE death of Philip threw the Caſtilians into the greateſt perplexity. It was neceſſary to appoint a regent, both on account of Joanna's frenzy, and the infancy of her ſon; and as there was not among the nobles, any perſon ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed as to be called by the publick voice to that high office, all naturally turned their eyes either towards Ferdinand, or towards the Emperor Maximilian. The former

Maximilian the Emperor and Ferdinand competitors for the regency.

[u] Mar. Hiſt. lib. 29. c. 3 & 5. P. Mart. Ep. 318. 324. 328. 332.

Book I. claimed that dignity as administrator for his daughter, and by virtue of the testament of Isabella; the latter thought himself the legal guardian of his grandson, whom, on account of his mother's infirmity, he already considered as king of Castile. Such of the nobility as had lately been most active in compelling Ferdinand to resign the government of the kingdom, trembled at the thoughts of his being restored so soon to his former dignity. They dreaded the return of a monarch, not apt to forgive, and who, to those defects with which they were already acquainted, added that resentment which the remembrance of their behaviour, and reflection upon his own disgrace, must naturally have excited. Though none of these objections held against Maximilian, he was a stranger to the laws and manners of Castile, and destitute of troops and money to support his pretensions; nor could his claim be admitted without a public declaration of Joanna's incapacity for government, an indignity, to which, notwithstanding the notoriety of her distemper, the delicacy of the Castilians would never consent.

Don John Manuel, however, and a few of the nobles, who considered themselves as most obnoxious to Ferdinand's displeasure, declared for Maximilian, and offered to support his claim

with

with all their intereſt. Maximilian, always enterprizing and deciſive in council, though feeble and dilatory in execution, eagerly embraced the offer. But a ſeries of ineffectual negociations was the only conſequence of this tranſaction. The Emperor, as uſual, aſſerted his rights in a high ſtrain, promiſed a great deal, and performed nothing [x].

Ferdinand abſent, on a viſit to his kingdom of Naples.

A few days before the death of Philip, Ferdinand had ſet out for Naples, that, by his own preſence, he might put an end, with the greater decency, to the vice-royalty of the great captain, whoſe important ſervices, and cautious conduct, did not ſcreen him from the ſuſpicions of his jealous maſter. Though an account of his ſon-in-law's death reached him at Porto-fino, in the territories of Genoa, he was ſo ſolicitous to diſcover the ſecret intrigues which he ſuppoſed the great captain to have been carrying on, and to eſtabliſh his own authority on a firm foundation in the Neapolitan dominions, by removing him from the ſupreme command there, that rather than diſcontinue his voyage, he choſe to leave Caſtile in a ſtate of anarchy, and even to riſque, by this delay, his obtaining poſſeſſion of the government of that kingdom [y].

[x] Mariana, lib. 29. c. 7. Zurita Anales de Arag. vi. 93.

[y] Zurita Anales de Arag. vi. p. 85.

Book I.

Acquires the regency of Castile, chiefly through the influence of cardinal Ximenes.

Nothing but the great abilities and prudent conduct of his adherents, could have prevented the bad effects of this absence. At the head of these was Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, who, though he had been raised to that dignity by Isabella, contrary to the inclination of Ferdinand, and though he could have no expectation of enjoying much power under his jealous administration, was nevertheless so disinterested, as to prefer the welfare of his country before his own grandeur, and to declare, that Castile could never be so happily governed as by a prince, whom long experience had rendered thoroughly acquainted with its true interest. His zeal to bring over his countrymen to this opinion, induced him to lay aside somewhat of his usual austerity and haughtiness. He condescended, on this occasion, to court the disaffected nobles, and employed address, as well as arguments, to persuade them. Ferdinand seconded his endeavours with great art; and by concessions to some of the grandees, by promises to others, and by letters full of complaisance to all, he gained many of his most violent opponents [z]. Though many cabals were formed, and some commotions were excited, yet when Ferdinand, after having settled the affairs of Naples, arrived in Castile, he entered upon the administration with-

1507.

Aug. 21. Ferdinand returns to Spain.

[z] Zurita Anales de Arag. vi. p. 87. 94. 109.

out

out opposition. The prudence with which he exercised his authority in that kingdom, equalled the good fortune by which he had recovered it. By a moderate, but steady administration, free from partiality and from resentment, he entirely reconciled the Castilians to his person, and secured to them, during the remainder of his life, as much domestic tranquillity, as was consistent with the genius of the feudal government, which still subsisted among them in full vigour [a].

Book I.

His prudent administration.

Nor was the preservation of tranquillity in his hereditary kingdoms, the only obligation which the Archduke Charles owed to the wise regency of his grandfather; he had the satisfaction, during that period, of seeing very important acquisitions added to the dominions over which he was to reign. On the coast of Barbary, Oran, and other conquests of no small value, were annexed to the crown of Castile by cardinal Ximenes, who, with a spirit very uncommon in a monk, led in person a numerous army against the Moors of that country; and, with a generosity and magnificence still more singular, defrayed the whole expence of the expedition out of his own revenues [b]. In Europe, Ferdinand, under pretences both frivolous and

Conquest of Oran.

1509.

[a] Mariana, lib. 29. c. 10. [b] Mariana, lib. 29. c. 18.

unjust,

Book I. unjuſt, and by artifices the moſt ſhameful and treacherous, expelled John d'Albret, the lawful ſovereign, from the throne of Navarre; and ſeizing on that kingdom, extended the limits of the Spaniſh monarchy from the Pyrenees on the one hand, to the frontiers of Portugal on the other [c].

Acquiſition of Navarre.

Ferdinand jealous of his grandſon Charles.

It was not, however, the deſire of aggrandizing the Archduke, which influenced Ferdinand in this, or in any other of his actions. He was more apt to conſider that young prince as a rival, who might one day wreſt out of his hands the government of Caſtile, than as a grandſon, for whoſe behoof he was entruſted with the adminiſtration. This jealouſy ſoon begot averſion, and even hatred, the ſymptoms of which he was at no pains to conceal. Hence
1509. proceeded his immoderate joy when his young queen was delivered of a ſon, whoſe life would have deprived Charles of the crowns of Aragon, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia; and upon the untimely death of that prince, he diſcovered, for the ſame reaſon, an exceſſive ſolicitude to have other children. This impatience haſtened, in all probability, the acceſſion of Charles to the crown of Spain. Ferdinand, in order to procure a bleſſing, of which, from his advanced

[c] Mar. lib. 30. c. 11. 12. 19. 24.

age,

age, and the intemperance of his youth, he could have little prospect, had recourse to his physicians, and by their prescription took one of those potions, which are supposed to add vigour to the constitution, though they more frequently prove fatal to it. This was its effect on a frame so feeble and exhausted as that of Ferdinand; for though he survived a violent disorder which it at first occasioned, it brought on such an habitual languor and dejection of mind, as rendered him averse from any serious attention to public affairs, and fond of frivolous amusements, on which he had not hitherto bestowed much time [d]. Though he now despaired of having any son of his own, his jealousy of the Archduke did not abate, nor could he help viewing him with that aversion, which princes often bear to their successors. In order to gratify this unnatural passion, he made a will, appointing prince Ferdinand, who having been born and educated in Spain, was much beloved by the Spaniards, to be regent of all his kingdoms, until the arrival of the Archduke his brother; and by the same deed he settled upon him the grand-mastership of the three military orders. The former of these grants might have put

Book I. 1513.

1515. Endeavours to diminish his power, by a will in favour of Ferdinand.

[d] Zurita Anales de Arag. vi. 347. P. Mart. Ep. 531. Argensola Anales de Aragon, lib. i. p. 4.

Book I. put it in his power to have diſputed the throne with his brother; the latter would, in any event, have rendered him almoſt independent.

Ferdinand retained to the laſt that jealous love of power, which was ſo remarkable through his whole life. Unwilling to reſign it, even at the approach of death, he removed continually from place to place, in order to fly from his diſtemper, or to forget it. Though his ſtrength declined every day, none of his attendants durſt mention his condition; nor would he admit his father confeſſor, who thought ſuch ſilence criminal and unchriſtian, into his preſence. At laſt the danger became ſo imminent, that it could be no longer concealed. Ferdinand received the intimation with a decent fortitude; and touched, perhaps, with compunction at the injuſtice which he had done his grandſon, or influenced by the honeſt remonſtrances of Carvajal, Zapata and Vargas, his moſt ancient and faithful counſellors, who repreſented to him, that by inveſting prince Ferdinand with the regency, he would infallibly entail a civil war on the two brothers, and by beſtowing on him the grandmaſterſhip of the military orders, would ſtrip the crown of its nobleſt ornament and chief ſtrength, he conſented to alter his will in both

theſe

these particulars. By a new deed he left Charles the sole heir of all his dominions, and allotted to prince Ferdinand, instead of that throne of which he thought himself almost secure, an inconsiderable establishment of fifty thousand ducats a year[e]. He died a few hours after signing this will, on the twenty-third day of January, one thousand five hundred and sixteen.

Book I.

Is persuaded to alter that will,

and dies.

CHARLES, to whom such a noble inheritance descended by his death, was near the full age of sixteen. He had hitherto resided in the Low Countries, his paternal dominions. Margaret of Austria, his aunt, and Margaret of York, the sister of Edward IV. of England, and widow of Charles the Bold, two princesses of great virtue and abilities, had the care of forming his early youth. Upon the death of his father, the Flemings committed the government of the Low Countries to his grandfather, the Emperor Maximilian, with the name rather than the authority of regent[f]. Maximilian made choice of William de Croy lord of Chievres to superintend the education of the young prince his grand-

Education of Charles V.

[e] Mar. Hist. lib. 30. c. ult. Zurita Anales de Arag. vi. 401. P. Mart. Ep. 565, 566. Argensola Anales de Arag. lib. 1. p. 11.

[f] Pontius Heuterus Rerum Austriacarum, lib. xv. Lov. 1649. lib. 7. c. 2. p. 155.

son,

son[g]. That nobleman poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, the talents which fitted him for ſuch an important office, and diſcharged the duties of it with great fidelity. Under Chievres, Adrian of Utrecht acted as preceptor. This preferment, which opened his way to the higheſt dignities an Eccleſiaſtic can attain, he owed not to his birth, for that was extremely mean; nor to his

[g] The French hiſtorians, upon the authority of M. de Bellay, Mem. p. 11. have unanimouſly aſſerted, that Philip, by his laſt will, having appointed the King of France to have the direction of his ſon's education, Louis XII. with a diſintereſtedneſs ſuitable to the confidence repoſed in him, named Chievres for that office. Even the preſident Henaut has adopted this opinion. Abregè Chron. A. D. 1507. Varillas, in his uſual manner, pretends to have ſeen Philip's teſtament. Pract. de l' education des Princes, p. 16. But the Spaniſh, German and Flemiſh hiſtorians concur in contradicting this aſſertion of the French authors. It appears from Heuterus, a contemporary Flemiſh hiſtorian of great authority, that Louis XII. by conſenting to the marriage of Germaine de Foix with Ferdinand, had loſt much of that confidence which Philip once placed in him; that this diſguſt was increaſed by the French King's giving in marriage to the count of Angoulême his eldeſt daughter, whom he had formerly betrothed to Charles, Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. v. 151: That the French, a ſhort time before Philip's death, had violated the peace, which ſubſiſted between them and the Flemings, and Philip had complained of this injury, and was ready to reſent it. Heuter. ibid. All theſe circumſtances render it improbable that Philip, who made his will a few days before he died, Heuter. p. 152,

his intereſt, for he was a ſtranger to the arts of a court; but to the opinion which his countrymen entertained of his learning. He was indeed no inconſiderable proficient in thoſe frivolous ſciences, which, during ſeveral centuries, aſſumed the name of Philoſophy, and had publiſhed a commentary, which was highly eſteemed, upon *The Book of Sentences*, a famous treatiſe of Petrus Lombardus, conſidered at that time, as the

Book I.

152, ſhould commit the education of his ſon to Louis XII. In confirmation of theſe plauſible conjectures, poſitive teſtimony can be produced. It appears from Heuterus, that Philip, when he ſet out for Spain, had entruſted Chievres both with the care of his ſon's education, and with the government of his dominions in the Low Countries. Heuter. lib. vii. p. 153. That an attempt was made, ſoon after Philip's death, to have the Emperor Maximilian appointed regent, during the minority of his grandſon; but that being oppoſed, Chievres ſeems to have continued to diſcharge both the offices which Philip had committed to him. Heut. ibid. 153. 155. That in the beginning of the year 1508, the Flemings invited Maximilian to accept of the regency; to which he conſented, and appointed his daughter Margaret, together with a council of Flemings, to exerciſe the ſupreme authority, when he himſelf ſhould, at any time, be abſent. He likewiſe named Chievres as governor, and Adrian of Utrecht as preceptor to his ſon. Heut. ibid. 155. 157. What Heuterus relates with reſpect to this matter is confirmed by Moringus in Vita Adriani, apud Analecta Caſp. Burmanni de Adriano, cap. 10; by Barlandus Chronic. Brabant. ibid. p. 25; and by Haræus Annal. Brab. vol. ii. 520, &c.

 ſtandard

ſtandard ſyſtem of metaphyſical theology. But whatever admiration theſe procured him in an illiterate age, it was ſoon found that a man accuſtomed to the retirement of a college, unacquainted with the world, and without any tincture of taſte or elegance, was by no means qualified for rendering ſcience agreeable to a young prince. Charles, accordingly, diſcovered an early averſion to learning, and an exceſſive fondneſs for thoſe violent and martial exerciſes, to excel in which was the chief pride, and almoſt the only ſtudy of perſons of rank in that age. Chievres encouraged this taſte, either from a deſire of gaining his pupil by indulgence, or from too ſlight an opinion of the advantages of literary accompliſhments [h]. He inſtructed him, however, with great care in the arts of government; he made him ſtudy the hiſtory not only of his own kingdoms, but of thoſe with which they were connected; he accuſtomed him, from the time of his aſſuming the government of Flanders in the year one thouſand five hundred and fifteen, to attend to buſineſs; he perſuaded him to peruſe all papers relating to public affairs; to be preſent at the deliberations of his privy-counſellors, and to propoſe to them himſelf thoſe matters, concerning which he required

The firſt openings of his character.

[h] Jovii Vita Adriani, p. 91. Struvii Corpus. Hiſt. Germ. ii. 967. P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. vii. c. 3. p. 157.

their opinion [i]. From ſuch an education, Charles contracted habits of gravity and recollection which ſcarcely ſuited his time of life. The firſt openings of his genius did not indicate that ſuperiority which its maturer age diſplayed [k]. He did not diſcover in his youth that impetuoſity of ſpirit which commonly uſhers in an active and enterprizing manhood. Nor did his early obſequiouſneſs to Chievres, and his other favourites, promiſe that capacious and deciſive judgment, which afterwards directed the affairs of one half of Europe. But his ſubjects, dazzled with the external accompliſhments of a graceful figure and manly addreſs, and viewing his character with that partiality which is always ſhown to princes during their youth, entertained ſanguine hopes of his adding luſtre to thoſe crowns which deſcended to him by the death of Ferdinand.

Book I.

State of Spain requires a vigorous adminiſtration.

The kingdoms of Spain, as is evident from the view which I have given of their political conſtitution, were, at that time, in a ſituation, which required an adminiſtration, no leſs vigorous than prudent. The feudal inſtitutions, which had been introduced into all its different provinces by the Goths, the Suevi, and the Vandals,

[i] Memoires de Bellay, 8vo. Par. 1573. p. 11. P. Heuter. lib. viii. c. 1. p. 184. [k] P. Martyr, Ep. 569. 655.

Book I. dals, ſubſiſted in great force. The nobles, who were powerful and warlike, had long poſſeſſed all the exorbitant privileges, which theſe inſtitutions veſted in their order. The cities in Spain were more numerous and more conſiderable, than the genius of feudal government, naturally an enemy to commerce, and to regular police, ſeemed to admit. The perſonal rights, and political influence, which the inhabitants of theſe cities had acquired, were extenſive. The royal prerogative, circumſcribed by the privileges of the nobility, and by the pretenſions of the people, was confined within very narrow limits. Under ſuch a form of government, the principles of diſcord were many; the bond of union was extremely feeble; and Spain felt not only all the inconveniencies occaſioned by the defects in the feudal ſyſtem, but was expoſed to diſorders ariſing from the peculiarities in its own conſtitution.

During the long adminiſtration of Ferdinand, no internal commotion, it is true, had ariſen in Spain. His ſuperior abilities enabled him to reſtrain the turbulence of the nobles, and to moderate the jealouſy of the commons. By the wiſdom of his domeſtic government, by the ſagacity with which he conducted his foreign operations, and by the high opinion that his ſubjects

ſubjects entertained of both, he preſerved among them a degree of tranquillity, greater than was natural to a conſtitution, in which the ſeeds of diſcord and diſorder were ſo copiouſly mingled. But, by the death of Ferdinand, theſe reſtraints were at once withdrawn; and faction and diſcontent, from being long repreſſed, were ready to break out with fiercer animoſity.

Ferdinand had appointed Cardinal Ximenes Regent.

In order to prevent theſe evils, Ferdinand had in his laſt will taken a moſt prudent precaution, by appointing Cardinal Ximenes, archbiſhop of Toledo, to be ſole regent of Caſtile, until the arrival of his grandſon in Spain. The ſingular character of this man, and the extraordinary qualities which marked him out for that office, at ſuch a juncture, merit a particular deſcription.

His riſe and character.

He was deſcended of an honourable, not of a wealthy family; and the circumſtances of his parents, as well as his own inclinations, having determined him to enter into the church, he early obtained benefices of great value, and which placed him in the way of the higheſt preferment. All theſe, however, he renounced at once; and after undergoing a very ſevere noviciate, aſſumed the habit of St. Francis in a monaſtery of Obſervantine friars, one of the moſt rigid orders in the Romiſh Church. There he ſoon became eminent for his uncom-

Book I.

mon auſterity of manners, and for thoſe exceſſes of ſuperſtitious devotion, which are the proper characteriſtics of the monaſtic life. But notwithſtanding theſe extravagances, to which weak and enthuſiaſtic minds alone are uſually prone, his underſtanding, naturally penetrating and deciſive, retained its full vigour, and acquired him ſuch great authority among his own order, as raiſed him to be their provincial. His reputation for ſanctity ſoon procured him the office of father confeſſor to queen Iſabella, which he accepted with the utmoſt reluctance. He preſerved in a court the ſame auſterity of manners, which had diſtinguiſhed him in the cloiſter. He continued to make all his journies on foot; he ſubſiſted only upon alms; his acts of mortification were as ſevere as ever; and his pennances as rigorous. Iſabella, pleaſed with her choice, conferred on him, not long after, the Archbiſhoprick of Toledo, which, next to the Papacy, is the richeſt dignity in the church of Rome. This honour he declined with a firmneſs, which nothing but the authoritative injunction of the Pope was able to overcome. Nor did this height of promotion change his manners. Though obliged to diſplay in public that magnificence which became his ſtation, he himſelf retained his monaſtic ſeverity. Under his pontifical robes he conſtantly wore the coarſe

frock of St. Francis, the rents in which he uſed to patch with his own hands. He at no time uſed linen; but was commonly clad in hair-cloth. He ſlept always in his habit, moſt frequently on the ground, or on boards, rarely in a bed. He did not taſte any of the delicacies which appeared at his table, but ſatisfied himſelf with that ſimple diet which the rule of his order preſcribed[1]. Notwithſtanding theſe peculiarities, ſo oppoſite to the manners of the world, he poſſeſſed a thorough knowledge of its affairs; and no ſooner was he called by his ſtation, and by the high opinion which Ferdinand and Iſabella entertained of him, to take a principal ſhare in the adminiſtration, than he diſplayed talents for buſineſs, which rendered the fame of his wiſdom equal to that of his ſanctity. Bold and original in all his plans, his political conduct flowed from his real character, and partook both of its virtues and its defects. His extenſive genius ſuggeſted to him ſchemes, vaſt and magnificent. Conſcious of the integrity of his intentions, he purſued theſe with unremitting and undaunted firmneſs. Accuſtomed from his early youth to mortify his own paſſions, he ſhewed little indulgence towards thoſe of other men. Taught by his ſyſtem of

[1] Hiſtoire de l'adminiſtration du Card. Ximen. par Mich. Baudier, 4to 1635. p. 13.

 religion

Book I. religion to check even his moſt innocent deſires, he was the enemy of every thing to which he could affix the name of elegance or pleaſure. Though free from any ſuſpicion of cruelty, he diſcovered in all his commerce with the world a ſevere inflexibility of mind, and auſterity of character, peculiar to the monaſtic profeſſion, and which can hardly be conceived in a country where that is unknown.

Cardinal Adrian appointed regent by Charles.

Such was the man to whom Ferdinand committed the regency of Caſtile, and though Ximenes was then near fourſcore, and perfectly acquainted with the labour and difficulty of the office, his natural intrepidity of mind, and zeal for the public good, prompted him to accept of it without heſitation. Adrian of Utrecht, who had been ſent into Spain a few months before the death of Ferdinand, produced full powers from the Archduke to aſſume the name and authority of regent upon the demiſe of his grandfather; but ſuch was the averſion of the Spaniards to the government of a ſtranger, and ſo unequal the abilities of the two competitors, that Adrian's claim would at once have been rejected, if Ximenes himſelf, from complaiſance to his new maſter, had not conſented to acknowledge him as regent, and to carry on the government in conjunction with him. By this, however,

ever, Adrian acquired a dignity merely nominal. Ximenes, though he treated him with great decency, and even refpect, retained the whole power in his own hands [m].

Book I.

Ximenes obtains the fole direction of affairs.

The Cardinal's firft care was to obferve the motions of the Infant Don Ferdinand, who having been flattered with fo near a profpect of fupreme power, bore the difappointment of his hopes with greater impatience than could have been expected of a prince fo young. Ximenes, under pretence of providing more effectually for his fafety, removed him from Guadalupe, the place in which he had been educated, to Madrid, where he fixed the refidence of the court. There he was under the Cardinal's own eye, and his conduct, with that of his domeftics, was watched with the utmoft attention [n].

His precautions againft the Infant Don Ferdinand.

The firft intelligence he received from the Low Countries, gave greater difquiet to the Cardinal, and convinced him how difficult a tafk it would be to conduct the affairs of a young prince, under the influence of counfellors unacquainted with the laws and manners of Spain. No fooner did the account of Ferdi-

[m] Gometius de reb. geft. Ximenii, p. 150. fol. Compl. 1569. [n] Miniana Contin. Marianæ, lib. 1. c. 2. Baudier, Hift. de Ximenes, p. 118.

 nand's

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

BOOK I. Charles assumes the title of King.

nand's death reach Bruſſels, than Charles, by the advice of his Flemiſh miniſters, reſolved to aſſume the title of King. By the laws of Spain, the ſole right to the crowns both of Caſtile and of Aragon belonged to Joanna; and though her infirmities diſqualified her from governing, this incapacity had not been declared by any public act of the Cortes in either kingdom; ſo that the Spaniards conſidered this reſolution, not only as a direct violation of their privileges, but as an unnatural uſurpation in a ſon on the prerogatives of a mother, towards whom, in her preſent unhappy ſituation, he manifeſted a leſs delicate regard than her ſubjects had always expreſſed[o]. The Flemiſh court, however, having prevailed both on the Pope and on the Emperor to addreſs letters to Charles as king of Caſtile; the former of whom, it was pretended, had a right, as head of the church; and the latter, as head of the empire, to confer this title; inſtructions were ſent to Ximenes, to prevail on the Spaniards to acknowledge it. Ximenes, though he had earneſtly remonſtrated againſt the meaſure, as no leſs unpopular than unneceſſary, reſolved to exert all his authority and credit in carrying it into execution, and immediately aſſembled ſuch of the nobles as were then at court. What Charles required was laid before

[o] P. Mart. Ep. 568.

them;

them; and when, instead of complying with his demands, they began to murmur against such an unprecedented encroachment on their privileges, and to talk high of the rights of Joanna, and their oath of allegiance to her, Ximenes hastily interposed, and with that firm and decisive tone which was natural to him, told them, that they were not called now to deliberate, but to obey; that their sovereign did not apply to them for advice, but expected submission; and "this day, added he, Charles shall be proclaimed King of Castile in Madrid, and the rest of the cities will follow its example." On the spot he gave orders for that purpose[p]; and notwithstanding the novelty of the practice, and the secret discontents of many persons of distinction, Charles's title was universally recognized. In Aragon, where the privileges of the subject were more extensive, and the abilities as well as authority of the archbishop of Saragossa, whom Ferdinand had appointed regent, were far inferior to those of Ximenes, the same obsequiousness to the will of Charles did not appear, nor was he acknowledged there under any other character but that of Prince, until his arrival in Spain[q].

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Recognized through the influence of Ximenes.

April 13.

[p] Gometius, p. 152, &c. Baudier Hist. de Ximen. p. 121. [q] P. Mart. Ep. 572.

XIMENES,

Book I.

His schemes for extending the prerogative.

Ximenes, though possessed only of delegated power, which, from his advanced age, he could not expect to enjoy long, assumed, together with the character of regent, all the ideas natural to a monarch, and adopted schemes for extending the regal authority, which he pursued with as much intrepidity and ardour, as if he himself had been to reap the advantages resulting from their success. The exorbitant privileges of the Castilian nobles circumscribed the prerogative of the prince within very narrow limits. These the Cardinal considered as so many unjust extortions from the crown, and determined to reduce them. Dangerous as the attempt was, there were circumstances in his situation which promised him greater success than any king of Castile could have expected. His strict and prudent œconomy of his archiepiscopal revenues, furnished him with more ready money, than the crown could at any time command; the sanctity of his manners, his charity and munificence, rendered him the idol of the people; and the nobles themselves, not suspecting any danger from him, did not observe his motions with the same jealous attention, as they would have watched those of one of their monarchs.

By depressing the nobility.

Immediately upon his accession to the regency, several of the nobles, fancying that the

reins

reins of government would of consequence be somewhat relaxed, began to assemble their vassals, and to prosecute, by force of arms, private quarrels and pretensions, which the authority of Ferdinand had obliged them to dissemble, or to relinquish. But Ximenes, who had taken into pay a good body of troops, opposed and defeated all their designs with unexpected vigour and facility; and though he did not treat the authors of these disorders with any cruelty, he forced them to acts of submission, extremely mortifying to the haughty spirit of Castilian grandees.

By forming a body of troops depending on the crown.

But while the Cardinal's attacks were confined to individuals, and every act of rigour was justified by the appearance of necessity, founded on the forms of justice, and tempered with a mixture of lenity, there was scarcely room for jealousy or complaint. It was not so with his next measure, which, by striking at a privilege essential to the nobility, gave a general alarm to the whole order. By the feudal constitution, the military power was lodged in the hands of the nobles, and men of an inferior condition were called into the field only as their vassals, and to follow their banners. A king with scanty revenues, and a limited prerogative, depended on these potent barons in all his operations.

Book I. rations. It was with their forces he attacked his enemies, and with them he defended his own kingdom. While at the head of troops attached only to their own lords, and accuſtomed to obey no other commands, his authority was precarious, and his efforts feeble. From this ſtate Ximenes reſolved to deliver the crown; and as mercenary ſtanding armies were unknown under the feudal government, and would have been odious to a martial and generous people, he iſſued a proclamation, commanding every city in Caſtile to enroll a certain number of its burgeſſes, in order that they might be trained to the uſe of arms on Sundays and holidays; he engaged to provide officers to command them at the publick expence; and as an encouragement to the private men, promiſed them an exemption from all taxes and impoſitions. The frequent incurſions of the Moors from Africa, and the neceſſity of having ſome force ready to oppoſe them, furniſhed a plauſible pretence for this innovation. The object really in view was to ſecure the king a body of troops independent of his barons, and which might ſerve to counterbalance their power [r]. The nobles were not ignorant of his intention, and ſaw how effectually the ſcheme which he had adopted would accompliſh his end; but as a meaſure which had

[r] Minianæ Continuatio Marianæ fol. Hag. 1733. p. 3.

the

the pious appearance of resisting the progress of the Infidels was extremely popular, and as any opposition to it arising from their ardour alone, would have been imputed wholly to interested motives, they endeavoured to excite the cities themselves to refuse obedience, and to remonstrate against the proclamation, as inconsistent with their charters and privileges. In consequence of their instigations, Burgos, Valladolid, and several other cities, rose in open mutiny. Some of the grandees declared themselves their protectors. Violent remonstrances were presented to the King. His Flemish counsellors were alarmed. Ximenes alone continued firm and undaunted; and partly by terror, partly by intreaty; by force in some instances, and by forbearance in others, he prevailed on all the refractory cities to comply[a]. During his administration, he continued to execute his plan with vigour, but soon after his death it was entirely dropt.

By recalling the grants of former monarchs to the nobility,

His success in this scheme for reducing the exorbitant power of the nobility, encouraged him to attempt a diminution of their possessions, which were no less exorbitant. During the contests and disorders inseparable from the feudal government, the nobles, ever attentive to their

[a] P. Mart. Ep. 556, &c. Gometius, p. 160, &c.

Book I. own intereſt, and taking advantage of the weakneſs or diſtreſs of their monarchs, had ſeized ſome parts of the royal demeſnes, obtained grants of others, and having gradually wreſted almoſt the whole out of the hands of the prince, had annexed them to their own eſtates. The rights, by which moſt of the grandees held theſe lands, were extremely defective; it was from ſome ſucceſsful uſurpation, which the crown had been too feeble to diſpute, that many derived their only title to poſſeſſion. An enquiry carried back to the origin of theſe encroachments, which were almoſt co-eval with the feudal ſyſtem, was impracticable; and as it would have ſtripped every nobleman in Spain of great part of his lands, it muſt have excited a general revolt. Such a ſtep was too bold, even for the enterprizing genius of Ximenes. He confined himſelf to the reign of Ferdinand; and beginning with the penſions granted during that time, refuſed to make any farther payment, becauſe all right to them expired with his life. He then called to account ſuch as had acquired crown lands under the adminiſtration of that monarch, and at once reſumed whatever he had alienated. The effects of theſe revocations extended to many perſons of great rank; for though Ferdinand was a prince of little generoſity, yet he and Iſabella having been raiſed to the throne of Caſtile

by a powerful faction of the nobles, they were obliged to reward the zeal of their adherents with great liberality, and the royal demesnes were their only fund for that purpose. The addition made to the revenue of the crown by these revocations, together with his own frugal œconomy, enabled Ximenes not only to discharge all the debts which Ferdinand had left, and to remit considerable sums to Flanders, but to pay the officers of his new militia, and to establish magazines more numerous, and better furnished with artillery, arms, and warlike stores, than Spain had ever possessed in any former age[1]. The prudent and disinterested application of these sums, was a full apology to the people for the rigour with which they were exacted.

The nobles oppose his measures.

The nobles, alarmed at these repeated attacks, thought it necessary to take precautions for the safety of their order. Many cabals were formed, loud complaints were uttered, and desperate resolutions taken; but before they proceeded to extremities, they appointed some of their number to examine the powers in consequence of which the Cardinal exercised acts of such high authority. The admiral of Castile, the duke de Infantado, and the condè de Benevento, grandees of the first rank, were entrusted

[1] Flechier Vie de Ximen. ii. 600.

with

Book I. with this commiſſion. Ximenes received them with cold civility, and in anſwer to their demand, produced the teſtament of Ferdinand by which he was appointed regent, together with the ratification of that deed by Charles. To both theſe they objected; and he endeavoured to eſtabliſh their validity. As the converſation grew warm, he led them inſenſibly towards a balcony, from which they had a view of a large body of troops under arms, and of a formidable train of artillery. "Behold", ſays he, pointing to theſe and raiſing his voice, "the powers which I have received from his Catholick majeſty. With theſe I govern Caſtile; and with theſe I will govern it, until the king your maſter and mine takes poſſeſſion of his kingdom [u]." A declaration ſo bold and haughty ſilenced them, and aſtoniſhed their aſſociates. To take arms againſt a man aware of his danger, and prepared for his defence, was what deſpair alone would dictate. All thoughts of a general confederacy againſt the Cardinal's adminiſtration were laid aſide; and except from ſome ſlight commotions, excited by the private reſentment of particular noblemen, the tranquillity of Caſtile ſuffered no interruption.

But without ſucceſs.

Thwarted by Charles's Flemiſh miniſters.

It was not only from the oppoſition of the Spaniſh nobility that obſtacles aroſe to the exe-

[u] Flech. ii. 551. Ferreras, Hiſt. viii. 433.

cution

cution of the Cardinal's schemes; he had a constant struggle to maintain with the Flemish ministers, who, presuming upon their favour with the young king, aimed at directing the affairs of Spain, as well as those of their own country. Jealous of his great abilities, and independent spirit, they considered Ximenes rather as a rival who might circumscribe their power, than as a minister who by his prudence and vigour was adding to the grandeur and authority of their master. Every complaint against his administration was listened to with pleasure by the courtiers in the Low Countries. Unnecessary obstructions were thrown by their means in the way of all his measures; and though they could not either with decency or safety deprive him of the office of regent, they endeavoured to lessen his authority by dividing it. They soon discovered that Adrian of Utrecht, already joined with him in office, had neither genius nor spirit sufficient to give the least check to his proceedings; and therefore Charles, by their advice, added to the commission of regency La Chau, a Flemish gentleman, and afterwards Amerstorf, a nobleman of Holland; the former distinguished for his address, the latter for his firmness. Ximenes, though no stranger to the malevolent intention of the Flemish courtiers, received these new associates with all the external marks of dis-

An additional number of regents appointed.

tinction due to the office with which they were invested; but when they came to enter upon business, he abated nothing of that air of superiority with which he had treated Adrian, and still retained the sole direction of affairs. The Spaniards, more averse, perhaps, than any other people to the government of strangers, approved of all his efforts to preserve his authority. Even the nobles, influenced by this national passion, and forgetting their jealousies and discontents, chose rather to see the supreme power in the hands of one of their countrymen, whom they feared, than in those of foreigners, whom they hated.

Ximenes retains the direction of affairs.

His successful war in Navarre.

Ximenes, though engaged in such great schemes of domestic policy, and embarrassed by the artifices and intrigues of the Flemish ministers, had the burden of two foreign wars to support. The one was in Navarre, invaded by its unfortunate monarch, John d'Albret. The death of Ferdinand, the absence of Charles, the discord and disaffection which reigned among the Spanish nobles, seemed to present him with a favourable opportunity of recovering his dominions. The Cardinal's vigilance, however, defeated a measure so well concerted. As he foresaw the danger to which that kingdom might be exposed, one of his first acts of administration

tion was to order thither a confiderable body of troops. While the king was employed with one part of his army in the fiege of St. Jean Pied en Port, Villalva, an officer of great experience and courage, attacked the other by furprize, and cut it to pieces. The king inftantly retreated with precipitation, and an end was put to the war [x]. But as Navarre was filled at that time with towns and caftles, flightly fortified, and weakly garrifoned, which being unable to refift an enemy, ferved only to furnifh him with places of retreat; Ximenes, always bold and decifive in his meafures, ordered every one of thefe to be difmantled, except Pampeluna, the fortifications of which he propofed to render very ftrong. To this uncommon precaution Spain owes the poffeffion of Navarre. The French, fince that period, have often entered, and have as often over-run the open country; but while they were expofed to all the inconveniencies attending an invading army, the Spaniards have eafily drawn troops from the neighbouring provinces to oppofe them; and the French, being deftitute of ftrong towns to which they could retire, have been obliged to abandon their conqueft with as much rapidity as they gained it.

[x] P. Mart. Ep. 570.

Book I.

His operations in Africa less fortunate.

The war which he carried on in Africa, against the famous adventurer Horuc Barbarossa, who, from a private corsair, raised himself, by his singular valour and address, to be king of Algiers and Tunis, was far from being equally successful. The ill conduct of the Spanish general, and the rash valour of his troops, presented Barbarossa with an easy victory. Many perished in the battle, more in the retreat, and the remainder returned into Spain covered with infamy. The magnanimity, however, with which the Cardinal bore this disgrace, the only one he experienced during his administration, added new lustre to his character [y]. Great composure of temper under a disappointment, was not expected from a man so remarkable for the eagerness and impatience with which he urged on the execution of all his schemes.

Corruption of the Flemish ministers, particularly of Chievres.

This disaster was soon forgotten; while the conduct of the Flemish court proved the cause of constant uneasiness, not only to the Cardinal, but to the whole Spanish nation. All the great qualities of Chievres, the prime minister and favourite of the young king, were sullied with an ignoble and sordid avarice. The accession of his master to the crown of Spain, opened a new and copious source for the gratification of

[y] Gometius, lib. vi. p. 179.

this

this paſſion. During the time of Charles's reſi- Book I. dence in Flanders, the whole tribe of pretenders to offices or to favour reſorted thither. They ſoon diſcovered that, without the patronage of Chievres, it was vain to hope for preferment; nor did they want ſagacity to find out the proper method of ſecuring his protection. Vaſt ſums of money were drawn out of Spain. Every thing was venal, and diſpoſed of to the higheſt bidder. After the example of Chievres, the inferior Flemiſh miniſters engaged in this traffick, which became as general and avowed, as it was infamous [z]. The Spaniards were filled with rage when they beheld offices of great importance to the welfare of their country, ſet to ſale by ſtrangers, unconcerned for its honour or its happineſs. Ximenes, diſintereſted in his whole adminiſtration, and a ſtranger, from his native grandeur of mind, to the paſſion of avarice, inveighed with the utmoſt boldneſs againſt the venality of the Flemings. He repreſented to the King in ſtrong terms, the murmurs and indignation which their behaviour excited among a free and high-ſpirited people, and beſought him to ſet out without loſs of time for Spain, that, by his preſence, he might diſſipate the clouds which were gathering all over the kingdom [a].

[z] Miniana, Contin. l. i. c. 2.

[a] P. Mart. Ep. 576.

Book I.

Charles persuaded by Ximenes to visit Spain.

Charles was fully ſenſible that he had delayed too long to take poſſeſſion of his dominions in Spain. Powerful obſtacles, however, ſtood in his way, and detained him in the Low Countries. The war which the league of Cambray had kindled in Italy, ſtill ſubſiſted; though, during its courſe, the armies of all the parties engaged in it, had taken different directions. France was now in alliance with Venice, which it had at firſt combined to deſtroy. Maximilian and Ferdinand had for ſome years carried on hoſtilities againſt France, their original ally, to the valour of whoſe troops the confederacy had been indebted for all its ſucceſs. Together with his kingdoms, Ferdinand tranſmitted this war to his grandſon; and there was reaſon to expect that Maximilian, always fond of new enterprizes, would perſuade the young monarch to enter into it with ardour. But the Flemings, who had long poſſeſſed an extenſive commerce, which, during the league of Cambray, had grown to a great height upon the ruins of the Venetian trade, dreaded a rupture with France; and Chievres, ſagacious to diſcern the true intereſt of his country, and not warped on this occaſion by his love of wealth, warmly declared for maintaining peace with the French nation. Francis I. deſtitute of allies, and ſolicitous to ſecure his late conqueſts in Italy by a treaty, liſtened

listened with joy to the first overtures of accommodation. Chievres himself conducted the negociation in name of Charles. Gouffier appeared as plenipotentiary for Francis. Each of them had presided over the education of the prince whom he represented. They had both adopted the same pacific system; and were equally persuaded that the union of the two monarchs was the happiest event for themselves, as well as for their kingdoms. In such hands the negociation did not languish. A few days after opening their conferences at Noyon, they concluded a treaty of confederacy and mutual defence between the two monarchs; the chief articles in which were, that Francis should give in marriage to Charles his eldest daughter, the princess Louise, an infant of a year old, and as her dowry, should make over to him all his claims and pretensions upon the kingdom of Naples; that in consideration of Charles's being already in possession of Naples, he should, until the accomplishment of the marriage, pay an hundred thousand crowns a year to the French king; and the half of that sum annually, as long as the princess had no children; that when Charles shall arrive in Spain, the heirs of the king of Navarre may represent to him their right to that kingdom; and if he do not give them satisfaction, Francis shall be at liberty to assist them

Book I.

A peace concluded with France.

Aug. 13, 1516.

Book I. them with all his forces [b]. This alliance not only united Charles and Francis, but obliged Maximilian, who was unable alone to cope with the French and Venetians, to enter into a treaty with thofe powers, which put a final period to that bloody and tedious war which the league of Cambray had occafioned. Europe enjoyed a few years of univerfal tranquillity, and was indebted for that bleffing to two princes, whofe rivalfhip and ambition kept it in perpetual difcord and agitation during the remainder of their reigns.

The Flemings averfe to Charles's vifit to Spain.

By the treaty of Noyon, Charles fecured a fafe paffage into Spain. It was not, however, the intereft of his Flemifh minifters, that he fhould vifit that kingdom foon. While he refided in Flanders, the revenues of the Spanifh crown were fpent there, and they engroffed, without any competitors, all the effects of their monarch's generofity; their country became the feat of government, and all favours were difpenfed by them. Of all thefe advantages, they run the rifque of feeing themfelves deprived, from the moment that their fovereign entered Spain. The Spaniards would naturally affume the direction of their own affairs; the Low Countries would be confidered only as a pro-

b Leonard Recueil des Traitez, tom. ii. 69.

vince

vince of that mighty monarchy; and they who now diftributed the favours of the prince to others, muft then be content to receive them from the hands of ftrangers. But what Chievres chiefly wifhed to avoid was, an interview between the king and Ximenes. On the one hand, the wifdom, the integrity, and the magnanimity of that prelate, gave him a wonderful afcendant over the minds of men; and it was extremely probable, that thefe great qualities, added to the reverence due to his age and office, would command the refpect of a young prince, who, capable of noble and generous fentiments himfelf, would, in proportion to his admiration of the Cardinal's virtues, leffen his deference towards perfons of another character. Or, on the other hand, if Charles fhould allow his Flemifh favourites to retain all the influence over his councils which they at prefent poffeffed, it was eafy to forefee that the Cardinal would remonftrate loudly againft fuch an indignity to the Spanifh nation, and vindicate the rights of his country with the fame intrepidity and fuccefs, that he had afferted the prerogatives of the crown. For thefe reafons, all his Flemifh counfellors combined to retard his departure; and Charles, unfufpicious, from want of experience, and fond of his native country, fuffered himfelf to be unneceffarily detained in the Netherlands

Afraid of Ximenes.

Book I. therlands a whole year after ſigning the treaty of Noyon.

1517. Charles embarks for Spain.

The repeated intreaties of Ximenes, the advice of his grandfather Maximilian, and the impatient murmurs of his Spaniſh ſubjects, prevailed on him at laſt to embark. He was attended not only by Chievres, his prime miniſter, but by a numerous and ſplendid train of the Flemiſh nobles, fond of beholding the grandeur, or of ſharing in the bounty of their prince. Sept. 13. After a dangerous voyage, he landed at Villa Vicioſa, in the province of Aſturias, and was received with ſuch loud acclamations of joy, as a new monarch, whoſe arrival was ſo ardently deſired, had reaſon to expect. The Spaniſh nobility reſorted to their ſovereign from all parts of the kingdom, and diſplayed a magnificence which the Flemings were unable to emulate [c].

His Flemiſh miniſters endeavour to prevent an interview with Ximenes.

Ximenes, who conſidered the preſence of the king as the greateſt bleſſing to his dominions, was advancing towards the coaſt, as faſt as the infirm ſtate of his health would permit, in order to receive him. During his regency, and notwithſtanding his extreme old age, he had abated, in no degree, the rigour or frequency of his

[c] P. Mart. Ep. 599. 601.

mortifications;

mortifications; and to these he added such laborious assiduity in business, as would have worn out the most youthful and vigorous constitution. Every day he employed several hours in devotion; he celebrated mass in person; he even allotted some space for study. Notwithstanding these occupations, he regularly attended the council; he received and read all papers presented to him; he dictated letters and instructions; and took under his inspection all business, civil, ecclesiastical, or military. Every moment of his time was filled up with some serious employment. The only amusement in which he indulged himself by way of relaxation after business, was to canvass, with a few friars and divines, some intricate article in scholastic theology. Wasted by such a course of life, the infirmities of age daily grew upon him. On his journey, a violent disorder seized him at Bos Equillos, attended with uncommon symptoms; which his followers considered as the effect of poison [d], but could not agree whether the crime ought to be imputed to the hatred of the Spanish nobles, or to the malice of the Flemish courtiers. This accident obliging him to stop short, he wrote to Charles, and with his usual boldness advised him to dismiss all the strangers in his train, whose numbers and credit gave

Charles's ingratitude to Ximenes.

[d] Miniana, Contin. lib. i. c. 3.

offence

offence already to the Spaniards, and would ere long alienate the affections of the whole people. At the ſame time, he earneſtly deſired to have an interview with the king, that he might inform him of the ſtate of the nation, and the temper of his ſubjects. To prevent this, not only the Flemings, but the Spaniſh grandees, employed all their addreſs, and induſtriouſly kept Charles at a diſtance from Aranda, the place to which the Cardinal had removed. Through their ſuggeſtions, every meaſure that he recommended was rejected; the utmoſt care was taken to make him feel, and to point out to the whole nation, that his power was on the decline; even in things purely trivial, ſuch a choice was always made, as was deemed moſt diſagreeable to him. Ximenes did not bear this treatment with his uſual fortitude of ſpirit. Conſcious of his own integrity and merit, he expected a more grateful return from a prince, to whom he delivered a kingdom more flouriſhing than it had been in any former age, together with authority more extenſive and better eſtabliſhed, than the moſt illuſtrious of his anceſtors had ever poſſeſſed. He could not, therefore, on many occaſions, refrain from giving vent to his indignation and complaints. He lamented the fate of his country, and foretold the calamities which it would ſuffer from the inſolence, the rapaciouſneſs, and

ignorance

ignorance of ſtrangers. While his mind was agitated by theſe paſſions, he received a letter from the king, in which, after a few cold and formal expreſſions of regard, he was allowed to retire to his dioceſe; that after a life of ſuch continued labour, he might end his days in tranquillity. This meſſage proved fatal to Ximenes. His haughty mind, it is probable, would not ſurvive diſgrace; perhaps his generous heart could not bear the proſpect of the misfortunes ready to fall on his country. Whichſoever of theſe opinions we embrace, certain it is that he expired a few hours after reading the letter [e]. The variety, the grandeur, and the ſucceſs of his ſchemes, during a regency of only twenty months, leave it doubtful, whether his ſagacity in council, his prudence in conduct, or his boldneſs in execution, deſerve the greateſt praiſe. His reputation is ſtill high in Spain, not only for wiſdom, but for ſanctity; and he is the only prime miniſter mentioned in hiſtory, whom his contemporaries reverenced as a ſaint [f], and to whom the people under his government aſcribed the power of working miracles.

Book I.

His death.

Nov. 8.

Soon after the death of Ximenes, Charles made his publick entry, with great pomp, into

1518. Cortes held at Valladolid.

[e] Marſollier, Vie de Ximenes, p. 447. Gometius, lib. vii. p. 206, &c. Baudier Hiſt. de Ximen. p. 208.

[f] Flechier, Vie de Ximen. ii. 746.

Book I. Valladolid, whither he had summoned the Cortes of Castile. Though he assumed on all occasions the name of king, that title had never been acknowledged in the Cortes. The Spaniards considering Joanna as possessed of the sole right to the crown, and no example of a son's having enjoyed the title of king during the life of his parents occurring in their history, the Cortes discovered all that scrupulous respect for ancient forms, and that aversion to innovation, which are conspicuous in popular assemblies. The presence, however, of their prince, the address, the artifices, and the threats of his ministers, prevailed on them at last to proclaim him king, in conjunction with his mother, whose name they appointed to be placed before that of her son in all publick acts. But, when they made this concession, they declared that, if at any future period Joanna should recover the exercise of reason, the whole royal authority should return into her hands. At the same time, they voted a free gift of six hundred thousand ducats to be paid in three years, a sum more considerable than had ever been granted to any former monarch [g].

Declare Charles king.

Notwithstanding this obsequiousness of the Cortes to the will of the king, the most violent

Discontent of the Castilians, and the causes of it.

[g] Miniana, Contin. lib. i. c. 3. P. Mart. Ep. 608. Sandov. p. 12.

violent ſymptoms of diſſatisfaction with his government began to break out in the kingdom. Chievres had acquired over the mind of the young monarch the aſcendant not only of a tutor, but of a parent. Charles ſeemed to have no ſentiments but thoſe which his miniſter inſpired, and ſcarcely uttered a word but what he put into his mouth. He was conſtantly ſurrounded by Flemings; no perſon got acceſs to him without their permiſſion; nor was any admitted to audience but in their preſence. As he ſpoke the Spaniſh language very imperfectly, his anſwers were always extremely ſhort, and often delivered with heſitation. From all theſe circumſtances, many of the Spaniards were led to believe that he was a prince of a ſlow and narrow genius. Some pretended to diſcover a ſtrong reſemblance between him and his mother, and began to whiſper that his capacity for government would never be far ſuperior to hers; and though they who had the beſt opportunity of judging concerning his character, maintained, that notwithſtanding ſuch unpromiſing appearances, he poſſeſſed a large fund of knowledge as well as of ſagacity [h]; yet all agreed in condemning his partiality towards his countrymen, and his attachment to his favourites as unreaſonable and immoderate. Unfortunately for

[h] Sandoval, p. 31. P. Mart. Ep. 655.

 Charles,

Book I. Charles, these favourites were unworthy of his confidence. To amass wealth seems to have been their only aim; and as they had reason to fear, that either their master's good sense, or the indignation of the Spaniards, might soon abridge their power, they hastened to improve the present opportunity, and their avarice was the more rapacious, because they expected their authority to be of no long duration. All honours, offices and benefices, were either engrossed by the Flemings, or publickly sold by them. Chievres, his wife, and Sauvage, whom Charles, on the death of Ximenes, had imprudently raised to be chancellor of Castile, vied with each other in all the refinements of extortion and venality. Not only the Spanish historians, who, from resentment, may be suspected of exaggeration, but Peter Martyr Angleria, an Italian, who resided at that time in the court of Spain, and who was under no temptation to deceive the persons to whom his letters are addressed, give a description which is almost incredible, of the insatiable and shameless covetousness of the Flemings. According to Angleria's calculation, which he asserts to be extremely moderate, they remitted into the Low Countries, in the space of ten months, no less a sum than a million and one hundred thousand ducats.

ducats. The nomination of William de Croy, Chievres' nephew, a young man not of canonical age, to the Archbiſhoprick of Toledo, exaſperated the Spaniards more than all theſe exactions. They conſidered the elevation of a ſtranger to the head of their church, and to the richeſt benefice in the kingdom, not only as an injury, but as an inſult to the whole nation; and both clergy and laity, the former from intereſt, the latter from indignation, joined in exclaiming againſt it[i]. Book I.

CHARLES leaving Caſtile thus diſguſted with his adminiſtration, ſet out for Saragoſſa, the capital of Aragon, that he might be preſent in the Cortes of that kingdom. On his way thither, he took leave of his brother Ferdinand, whom he ſent into Germany on the pretence of viſiting their grandfather, Maximilian, in his old age. To this prudent precaution, Charles owed the preſervation of his Spaniſh dominions. During the violent commotions which aroſe there ſoon after this period, the Spaniards would infallibly have offered the crown to a prince, who was the darling of the whole nation; nor did Ferdinand want ambition, or counſellors, that might have prompted him to accept of the offer[k]. Charles holds the Cortes of Aragon.

[i] Sandoval, 28—31. P. Mart. Ep. 608, 611, 613, 614, 622, 623, 639. Miniana, Contin. lib. i. c. 3. p. 8.

[k] P. Martyr, Ep. 619. Ferreras, viii. 460.

BOOK I.

The Aragonese more untractable than the Castilians.

THE Aragonese had not hitherto acknowledged Charles as king, nor would they allow the Cortes to be assembled in his name, but in that of the Justiza, to whom, during an interregnum, this privilege belonged[l]. The opposition Charles had to struggle with in the Cortes of Aragon, was more violent and obstinate than that which he had overcome in Castile; after long delays, however, and with much difficulty, he persuaded the members to confer on him the title of king, in conjunction with his mother. At the same time he bound himself by that solemn oath, which the Aragonese exacted of their king, never to violate any of their rights or liberties. When a donative was demanded, the members were still more intractable; many months elapsed before they would agree to grant Charles two hundred thousand ducats, and that sum they appropriated so strictly for paying debts of the crown, which had long been forgotten, that a very small part of it came into the King's hands. What had happened in Castile, taught them caution, and determined them rather to satisfy the claims of their fellow-citizens, how obsolete soever, than to furnish strangers the means of enriching themselves with the spoils of their country[m].

[l] P. Martyr, Ep. 605. [m] P. Martyr, Ep. 615—634.

DURING

During these proceedings of the Cortes, ambassadors arrived at Saragossa from Francis I. and the young king of Navarre, demanding the restitution of that kingdom in terms of the treaty of Noyon. But neither Charles, nor the Castilian nobles whom he consulted on this occasion, discovered any inclination to part with this acquisition. A conference held soon after at Montpelier, in order to bring this matter to an amicable issue, was altogether fruitless; while the French urged the injustice of the usurpation, the Spaniards were attentive only to its importance[n].

From Aragon, Charles proceeded to Catalonia, where he wasted as much time, encountered more difficulties, and gained less money. 1519.
The Flemings were now become so odious in every province of Spain by their exactions, that the desire of mortifying them, and of disappointing their avarice, augmented the jealousy with which a free people usually conduct their deliberations.

Combination of the Castilians against the Flemish ministers.

The Castilians, who had felt most sensibly the weight and rigour of the oppressive schemes carried on by the Flemings, resolved no longer to submit with a tameness fatal to themselves,

[n] P. Martyr, Ep. 605. 633. 640.

Book I. and which rendered them the objects of ſcorn among the reſt of the Spaniards. Segovia, Toledo, Seville, and ſeveral other cities of the firſt rank, entered into a confederacy for the defence of their rights and privileges; and notwithſtanding the ſilence of the nobility, who, on this occaſion, diſcovered neither the publick ſpirit, nor the reſolution which became their order, the confederates laid before the king a full view of the ſtate of the kingdom, and of the maladminiſtration of his favourites. The preferment of ſtrangers; the exportation of the current coin; the increaſe of taxes, were the grievances of which they chiefly complained; and of theſe they demanded redreſs with that boldneſs which is natural to a free people. Theſe remonſtrances, preſented at firſt at Saragoſſa, and renewed afterwards at Barcelona, Charles treated with great neglect. The confederacy, however, of theſe cities at this juncture, was the beginning of that famous union among the commons of Caſtile, which not long after threw the kingdom into ſuch violent convulſions, ſhook the throne, and almoſt overturned the conſtitution [o].

Soon after Charles's arrival at Barcelona, he received the account of an event which inte-

[o] P. Martyr, Ep. 630. Ferreras, viii. 464.

reſted him much more than the murmurs of the Caſtilians, or the ſcruples of the Cortes of Catalonia. This was the death of the Emperor Maximilian; an occurrence of ſmall importance in itſelf, for he was a prince conſpicuous neither for his virtues, nor his power, nor his abilities; but rendered by its conſequences more memorable than any that had happened during ſeveral ages. It broke that profound and univerſal peace which then reigned in the Chriſtian world; it excited a rivalſhip between two princes, which threw all Europe into agitation, and kindled wars more general, and of longer duration, than had hitherto been known in modern times.

Death of the Emperor Maximilian. January 12.

The revolutions occaſioned by the expedition of the French king, Charles VIII. into Italy, had inſpired the European princes with new ideas concerning the importance of the Imperial dignity. The claims of the Empire upon ſome of the Italian ſtates were numerous; its juriſdiction over others was extenſive; and though the former had been almoſt abandoned, and the latter ſeldom exerciſed, under princes of ſlender abilities, and of little influence, it was obvious, that, in the hands of an Emperor poſſeſſed of power or genius, they would be employed as engines for ſtretching his dominion over the

Book I. greater part of that country. Even Maximilian, feeble and unsteady as his conduct always was, had availed himself of the infinite pretensions of the Empire, and had reaped advantage from every war and every negociation in Italy during his reign. These considerations, added to the dignity of the station, confessedly the first among Christian princes, and to the rights inherent in the office, which, if exerted with vigour, were far from being inconsiderable, rendered the Imperial crown more than ever an object of ambition.

Maximilian had endeavoured to secure the Imperial crown to his grandson.

NOT long before his death, Maximilian had discovered great solicitude to preserve this dignity in the Austrian family, and to procure the king of Spain to be chosen his successor. But he himself having never been crowned by the Pope, a ceremony deemed essential in that age, was considered only as Emperor *elect*. Though historians did not attend to that distinction, neither the Italian nor German chancery bestowed any other title upon him than that of King of the Romans; and no example occurring in history of any person's being chosen a successor to a king of the Romans, the Germans, always tenacious of their forms, and unwilling to confer upon Charles an office for which their constitution

ſtitution knew no name, obſtinately refuſed to gratify Maximilian in that point [p].

Charles and Francis I. competitors for the empire.

By his death, this difficulty was at once removed, and Charles openly aſpired to that dignity which his grandfather had attempted, without ſucceſs, to ſecure for him. At the ſame time, Francis I. a powerful rival, entered the liſts againſt him; and the attention of all Europe was fixed upon this competition, no leſs illuſtrious from the high rank of the candidates, than from the importance of the prize for which they contended. Each of them urged his pretenſions with ſanguine expectations, and with no unpromiſing proſpect of ſucceſs. Charles conſidered the Imperial crown as belonging to him of right, from its long continuance in the Auſtrian line; he knew that none of the German princes poſſeſſed power or influence enough to appear as his antagoniſt; he flattered himſelf, that no conſideration would induce the natives of Germany to exalt any foreign prince to a dignity, which during ſo many ages had been deemed peculiar to their own nation; and leaſt of all, that they would confer this honour upon Francis I. the ſovereign of a people whoſe genius,

Pretenſions and hopes of Charles.

[p] Guicciardini, lib. 13. p. 15. Hiſt. Gener. d'Allemagne, par P. Barre, tom. viii. part 1. p. 1087. P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. vii. c. 17. 179. lib. viii. c. 2. p. 183.

 and

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI

Book I. and laws, and manners, differed ſo widely from thoſe of the Germans, that it was hardly poſſible to eſtabliſh any cordial union between them; he truſted not a little to the effect of Maximilian's negociations, which, though they did not attain their end, had prepared the minds of the Germans for his elevation to the Imperial throne; but what he relied on as a chief recommendation, was the fortunate ſituation of his hereditary dominions in Germany, which ſerved as a natural barrier to the Empire againſt the encroachments of the Turkiſh power. The conqueſts, the abilities, and the ambition of Sultan Selim II. had ſpread over Europe, at that time, a general and well-founded alarm. By his victories over the Mamalukes, and the extirpation of that gallant body of men, he had not only added Egypt and Syria to his empire, but had ſecured to it ſuch a degree of internal tranquillity, that he was ready to turn againſt Chriſtendom the whole force of his arms, which nothing hitherto had been able to reſiſt. The moſt effectual expedient for ſtopping the progreſs of this torrent, ſeemed to be the election of an Emperor, poſſeſſed of extenſive territories in that country, where its firſt impreſſion would be felt, and who, beſides, could combat this formidable enemy with all the forces of a powerful monarchy, and with all the wealth furniſhed by the

mines

mines of the new world, or the commerce of the Low Countries. These were the arguments by which Charles publickly supported his claim; and to men of integrity and reflection, they appeared to be not only plausible, but convincing. He did not, however, trust the success of his cause to these alone. Great sums of money were remitted from Spain; all the refinements and artifice of negociation were employed; and a considerable body of troops kept on foot by the states of the Circle of Suabia, was secretly taken into his pay. The venal were gained by presents; the objections of the more scrupulous were answered or eluded; some feeble princes were threatened and over-awed[q]. Book I.

Of Francis.

On the other hand, Francis supported his claim with equal eagerness, and no less confidence of its being well founded. His emissaries contended that it was now high time to convince the Princes of the house of Austria that the Imperial crown was elective, and not hereditary; that other persons might aspire to an honour which their arrogance had come to regard as the property of their family; that it required a sovereign of mature judgment, and of approved abilities, to hold the reins of government in a coun-

[q] Guic. lib. 13. 159. Sleidan, Hist of the Reformat. 14. Struvii Corp. Hist. German. ii. 971. Not. 20.

try

Book I. try where ſuch unknown opinions concerning religion had been publiſhed, as had thrown the minds of men into an uncommon agitation, which threatened the moſt violent effects; that a young prince, without experience, and who had hitherto given no ſpecimens of his genius for command, was no equal match for Selim, a monarch grown old in the art of war, and in the courſe of victory; whereas a king, who in his early youth had triumphed over the valour and diſcipline of the Swiſs, till then reckoned invincible, would be an antagoniſt not unworthy the Conqueror of the Eaſt; that the fire and impetuoſity of the French cavalry, added to the diſcipline and ſtability of the German infantry, would form an army ſo irreſiſtible, that, inſtead of waiting the approach of the Ottoman forces, it might carry hoſtilities into the heart of their dominions; that the election of Charles would be inconſiſtent with a fundamental conſtitution, by which the perſon who holds the crown of Naples, is excluded from aſpiring to the Imperial dignity; that his elevation to that honour would ſoon kindle a war in Italy, on account of his pretenſions to the dutchy of Milan, the effects of which could not fail of reaching the Empire, and might prove fatal to it[r]. But while his

[r] Guicc. lib. 13. 160. Sleid. p. 16. Geor. Sabini de elect. Car. V. Hiſtoria apud Scardii Script. Rer. German. vol. ii p. 4.

ambaſſadors

ambaſſadors enlarged upon theſe and other topicks of the ſame kind, in all the courts of Germany, Francis, ſenſible of the prejudices entertained againſt him as a foreigner, unacquainted with the German language or manners, endeavoured to overcome theſe, and to gain the favour of the princes by immenſe gifts, and by infinite promiſes. As the expeditious method of tranſmitting money, and the decent mode of conveying a bribe by bills of exchange was then little known, the French ambaſſadors travelled with a train of horſes loaded with treaſure, an equipage not very honourable for that prince by whom they were employed, and infamous for thoſe to whom they were ſent[s]. Book I.

Views and intereſt of other ſtates.

The other European princes could not remain indifferent ſpectators of a conteſt, the deciſion of which ſo nearly affected them. Their common intereſt ought naturally to have formed a general combination, in order to diſappoint both competitors, and to prevent either of them from obtaining ſuch a pre-eminence in power and dignity, as might prove dangerous to the liberties of Europe. But the ideas with reſpect to a proper diſtribution and balance of power were ſo lately introduced into the ſyſtem of European policy, that they were not hitherto ob-

[s] Memoires de Marech. de Fleuranges, p. 296.

jects

Book I. jects of sufficient attention. The passions of some princes, the want of foresight in others, and the fear of giving offence to the candidates, hindered such a salutary union of the powers of Europe, and rendered them either totally negligent of the publick safety, or kept them from exerting themselves with vigour in its behalf.

Of the Swiss.

THE Swiss Cantons, though they dreaded the elevation of either of the contending monarchs, and though they wished to have seen some prince whose dominions were less extensive, and whose power was more moderate, seated on the Imperial throne, were prompted, however, by their hatred of the French nation, to give an open preference to the pretensions of Charles, while they used their utmost influence to frustrate those of Francis [t].

Of the Venetians.

THE Venetians easily discerned, that it was the interest of their Republick to have both the rivals set aside; but their jealousy of the house of Austria, whose ambition and neighbourhood had been fatal to their grandeur, would not permit them to act up to their own ideas, and led them hastily to give the sanction of their approbation to the claim of the French king.

[t] Sabinus, p. 6.

IT

It was equally the intereſt, and more in the power of Henry VIII. of England, to prevent either Francis or Charles from acquiring a dignity which would raiſe them ſo far above other monarchs. But though Henry often boaſted, that he held the balance of Europe in his hand, he had neither the ſteady attention, the accurate diſcernment, nor the diſpaſſionate temper which that delicate function required. On this occaſion it mortified his vanity ſo much, to ſee himſelf excluded from that noble competition which reflected ſuch honour upon the two antagoniſts, that he took the reſolution of ſending an ambaſſador into Germany, and of declaring himſelf a candidate for the Imperial throne. The ambaſſador, though loaded with careſſes by the German princes and the Pope's nuncio, informed his maſter, that he could hope for no ſucceſs in a claim which he had been ſo late in preferring. Henry, imputing his diſappointment to that circumſtance alone, and ſoothed with this oſtentatious diſplay of his own importance, ſeems to have taken no farther part in the matter, either by contributing to thwart both his rivals, or to promote one of them [u]. Of Henry VIII.

Leo X. a pontiff no leſs renowned for his political abilities, than for his love of the arts, Of Leo X.

[u] Memoires de Fleuranges, 314. Herbert, Hiſt. of Henry VIII.

Book I. was the only prince of the age who obſerved the motions of the two contending monarchs with a prudent attention, or who diſcovered a proper ſolicitude for the public ſafety. The Imperial and Papal juriſdiction interfered in ſo many inſtances, the complaints of uſurpation were ſo numerous on both ſides, and the territories of the church owed their ſecurity ſo little to their own force, and ſo much to the weakneſs of the powers around them, that nothing was ſo formidable to the court of Rome as an Emperor with extenſive dominions, or of enterprizing genius. Leo trembled at the proſpect of beholding the Imperial crown placed on the head of the king of Spain and of Naples, and the maſter of the new world; nor was he leſs afraid of ſeeing a king of France, who was duke of Milan and lord of Genoa, exalted to that dignity. He foretold that the election of either of them would be fatal to the independence of the holy ſee, to the peace of Italy, and perhaps to the liberties of Europe. But to oppoſe them with any proſpect of ſucceſs, required addreſs and caution in proportion to the greatneſs of their power, and their opportunities of taking revenge. Leo was defective in neither. He ſecretly exhorted the German princes to place one of their own number on the Imperial throne, which many of them were capable of filling

with

with honour. He put them in mind of the constitution by which the Kings of Naples were for ever excluded from that dignity[x]. He warmly exhorted the French King to persist in his claim, not from any desire that he should gain his end, but as he foresaw that the Germans would be more disposed to favour the king of Spain, he hoped that Francis himself, when he discovered his own chance of success to be desperate, would be stimulated by resentment and the spirit of rivalship, to concur with all his interest in raising some third person to the head of the Empire; or on the other hand, if Francis should make unexpected progress, he did not doubt but that Charles would be induced by similar motives to act the same part; and thus by prudence and attention, the mutual jealousy of the two rivals might be so dextrously managed, as to disappoint both. But this scheme, the only one which a prince in Leo's situation could adopt, though concerted with great wisdom, was executed with little discretion. The French ambassadors in Germany fed their master with vain hopes; the pope's nuncio, being gained by them, altogether forgot the instructions which he had received; and Francis persevered so long and with such obstinacy in

[x] Goldasti Constitutiones Imperiales. Francof. 1673. vol. i. 439.

urging

Book I. urging his own pretenſions, as rendered all Leo's meaſures abortive [y].

The diet aſſembles, June 17th.

Such were the hopes of the candidates, and the views of the different princes, when the diet was opened according to form at Frankfort. The right of chuſing an Emperor had long been veſted in ſeven great princes, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Electors, the origin of whoſe office, as well as the nature and extent of their powers, have already been explained. Theſe were, at that time, Albert of Brandenburgh, archbiſhop of Mentz; Herman count de Wied, archbiſhop of Cologne; Richard de Greiffenklau, archbiſhop of Treves; Lewis, king of Bohemia; Lewis, count Palatin of the Rhine; Frederick, duke of Saxony; and Joachim I. marquis of Brandenburgh.

Views of the Electors.

Notwithſtanding the artful arguments produced by the ambaſſadors of the two kings in favour of their reſpective maſters, and in ſpite of all their ſolicitations, intrigues, and preſents, the Electors did not forget that maxim on which the liberty of the German conſtitution was thought to be founded. Among the members of the Germanick body, which is a great republick compoſed of ſtates almoſt independent, the firſt principle of patriotiſm is to depreſs and limit the power of the

[y] Guicciar. lib. 13. 161.

Emperor;

Emperor; and of this idea, so natural under Book I.
such a form of government, a German politician seldom loses sight. No prince of considerable power, or extensive dominions, had for some ages been raised to the Imperial throne. To this prudent precaution many of the great families in Germany owed the splendor and independence which they had acquired during that period. To elect either of the contending monarchs, would have been a gross violation of that salutary maxim; would have given to the Empire a master, instead of an head; and would have reduced themselves from the rank of equals, to the condition of subjects.

Offer the Imperial crown to Frederick of Saxony,

Full of these ideas, all the electors turned their eyes towards Frederick, duke of Saxony, a prince of such eminent virtue, and abilities, as to be distinguished by the name of the *Sage*, and with one voice they offered him the Imperial crown. He was not dazzled with that object, which monarchs so far superior to him in power courted with such eagerness; and after deliberating upon the matter a short time, he rejected it with a magnanimity and disinterestedness, no less singular than admirable. Nothing, he observed, could be more impolitic, than an obstinate adherence to a maxim which, though sound and just in many cases, was not applicable

who rejects it,

Book I. to all. In times of tranquillity, ſaid he, we wiſh for an Emperor who has not power to invade our liberties; times of danger demand one who is able to ſecure our ſafety. The Turkiſh armies, led by a gallant and victorious monarch, are now aſſembling. They are ready to pour in upon Germany with a violence unknown in former ages. New conjunctures call for new expedients. The Imperial ſceptre muſt be committed to ſome hand more powerful than mine, or that of any other German prince. We poſſeſs neither dominions, nor revenues, nor authority which enable us to encounter ſuch a formidable enemy. Recourſe muſt be had in this exigency to one of the rival monarchs. Each of them can bring into the field forces ſufficient for our defence. But as the king of Spain is of German extraction; as he is a member and prince of the empire by the territories which deſcend to him from his grandfather; as his dominions ſtretch along that frontier which lies moſt expoſed to the enemy; his claim is preferable, in my opinion, to that of a ſtranger to our language, to our blood, and to our country; and therefore I give my vote to confer on him the Imperial crown.

This opinion, dictated by ſuch uncommon generoſity, and ſupported by arguments ſo plau-

ſible, made a deep impreſſion on the Electors. The king of Spain's ambaſſadors, ſenſible of the important ſervice which Frederick had done their maſter, ſent him a conſiderable ſum of money, as the firſt token of that prince's gratitude. But he who had greatneſs of mind to refuſe a crown, diſdained to receive a bribe; and upon their intreating that, at leaſt, he would permit them to diſtribute part of that ſum among his courtiers, he replied, That he could not prevent them from accepting what ſhould be offered, but whoever took a ſingle florin ſhould be diſmiſſed next morning from his ſervice[z].

Book I.

and refuſes any preſent from Charles's ambaſſadors.

[z] P. Daniel, an hiſtorian of conſiderable name, ſeems to call in queſtion the truth of this account of Frederick's behaviour, becauſe it is not mentioned by Georgius Sabinus in his Hiſtory of the election and coronation of Charles V. tom. iii. p. 63. But no great ſtreſs ought to be laid on an omiſſion in a ſuperficial author, whoſe treatiſe, though dignified with the name of hiſtory, contains only ſuch an account of the ceremonial of Charles's election, as is uſually publiſhed in Germany on like occaſions. Scard. Rer. Germ. Script. v. 2. p. 1. The teſtimony of Eraſmus, lib. 13. epiſt. 4. and that of Sleidan, p. 18. are expreſs. Seckendorf in his Commentarius Hiſtoricus & Apologeticus de Lutheraniſmo, p. 121. has examined this fact with his uſual induſtry, and has eſtabliſhed its truth by the moſt undoubted evidence. To theſe teſtimonies which he has collected, I may add the deciſive one of cardinal Cajetan, the pope's legate at Frankfort, in his letter July 5th, 1519. Epiſtres au Princes, &c. recuellies par Ruſcelli, traduicts par Belforreſt. Par. 1572. p. 60.

No

Book I.

Further deliberations of the electors.

No prince in Germany could now aſpire to a dignity, which Frederick had declined for reaſons applicable to them all. It remained to make a choice between the two great competitors. But beſides the prejudice in Charles's favour ariſing from his birth, as well as the ſituation of his German dominions, he owed not a little to the abilities of the cardinal de Gurk, and the zeal of Erard de la Mark, biſhop of Liege, two of his ambaſſadors, who had conducted their negociations with more prudence and addreſs than thoſe entruſted by the French king. The former, who had long been the miniſter and favourite of Maximilian, was well acquainted with the art of managing the Germans; and the latter having been diſappointed of a cardinal's hat by Francis, employed all the malicious ingenuity with which the deſire of revenge inſpires an ambitious mind, in thwarting the meaſures of that monarch. The Spaniſh party among the Electors daily gained ground; and even the Pope's nuncio, being convinced that it was vain to make any farther oppoſition, endeavoured to acquire ſome merit with the future Emperor, by offering voluntarily, in the name of his maſter, a diſpenſation to hold the Imperial crown in conjunction with that of Naples [a].

[a] Freheri Rer. German. Scriptores, vol. iii. 172. cur. Struvii Argent. 1717. Gianone Hiſt. of Naples, 2, 498.

On

On the twenty-eighth of June, five months and ten days after the death of Maximilian, this important conteſt, which had held all Europe in ſuſpence, was decided. Six of the Electors had already declared for the king of Spain; and the archbiſhop of Treves, the only firm adherent to the French intereſt, having at laſt joined his brethren, Charles was by the unanimous voice of the Electoral college raiſed to the Imperial throne [b].

They chuſe Charles emperor.

But though the Electors conſented, from various motives, to promote Charles to that high ſtation, they diſcovered at the ſame time great jealouſy of his extraordinary power, and endeavoured, with the utmoſt ſolicitude, to provide againſt his encroaching on the privileges of the Germanick body. It had long been the cuſtom to demand of every new Emperor a confirmation of theſe privileges, and to require a promiſe that he would never violate them in any inſtance. While princes, who were formidable neither from extent of territory, nor of genius, poſſeſſed the Imperial throne, a general and verbal engagement to this purpoſe was deemed ſufficient ſecurity. But under an Emperor ſo powerful as Charles, other precautions

They are apprehenſive of his power, and take precautions againſt it.

[b] Jac. Aug. Thuan. Hiſt. ſui temporis. Edit. Bulkley, lib. 1. c. 9.

Book I. ſeemed neceſſary. A *Capitulation* or claim of rights was formed, in which the privileges and immunities of the Electors, of the princes of the empire, of the cities, and of every other member of the Germanick body are enumerated. This capitulation was immediately ſigned by Charles's ambaſſadors in the name of their maſter, and he himſelf at his coronation confirmed it in the moſt ſolemn manner. Since that period, the Electors have continued to preſcribe the ſame conditions to all his ſucceſſors; and the Capitulation or mutual contract between the Emperor and his ſubjects, is conſidered in Germany, as a ſtrong barrier againſt the progreſs of the Imperial power, and as the great charter of their liberties to which they often appeal [c].

The election notified to Charles.

The important intelligence of his election was conveyed in nine days from Frankfort to Barcelona, where Charles was ſtill detained by the obſtinacy of the Catalonian Cortes, which had not hitherto brought to an iſſue any of the affairs that came before it. He received the account with the joy natural to a young and aſpiring mind, on an acceſſion of power and dignity which raiſed him ſo far above the other

[c] Pfeffel Abregè de l'Hiſt. de Droit Publique d'Allemagne 590. Limnei Capitulat. Imper. Epiſtres des Princes par Ruſcelli, p. 60.

princes

princes of Europe. Then it was that thoſe vaſt proſpects which allured him during his whole adminiſtration began to open, and from this æra we may date the formation, and are able to trace the gradual progreſs of a grand ſyſtem of enterprizing ambition, which renders the hiſtory of his reign ſo worthy of attention.

Its effect upon him.

A trivial circumſtance firſt diſcovered the effects of this great elevation upon the mind of Charles. In all the publick writs which he iſſued as king of Spain, he aſſumed the title of *Majeſty*, and required it from his ſubjects as a mark of their reſpect. Before that time, all the monarchs of Europe were ſatisfied with the appellation of *Highneſs*, or *Grace*; but the vanity of other courts ſoon led them to imitate the example of the Spaniſh. The epithet of Majeſty is no longer a mark of pre-eminence. The moſt inconſiderable monarchs in Europe enjoy it, and the arrogance of the greater potentates has invented no higher denomination [d].

The Spaniards diſſatisfied with this event.

The Spaniards were far from viewing the promotion of their King to the Imperial throne with the ſame ſatisfaction which he himſelf felt. To be deprived of the preſence of their ſove-

[d] Minianæ Contin. Mar. p. 13. Ferreras, viii. 475. Memoires Hiſt. de la Houſſaie, tom. i. p. 53, &c.

 reign,

Book I. reign, and to be subjected to the government of a viceroy and his council, a species of administration often oppressive, and always disagreeable, were the immediate and necessary consequences of this new dignity. To see the blood of their countrymen shed in quarrels wherein the nation had no concern, to behold its treasures wasted in supporting the splendour of a foreign title, and to be plunged in the chaos of Italian and German politics, were effects of this event almost as unavoidable. From all these considerations, they concluded, that nothing could have happened more pernicious to the Spanish nation; and the fortitude and publick spirit of their ancestors, who, in the Cortes of Castile, prohibited Alfonzo the Wise from leaving the kingdom, in order to receive the Imperial crown, were often mentioned with the highest praise, and pronounced to be extremely worthy of imitation at this juncture [c].

But Charles, without regarding the sentiments or murmurs of his Spanish subjects, accepted of the Imperial dignity which the count Palatine, at the head of a solemn embassy, offered him in the name of the Electors; and declared his intention of setting out soon for Germany, in order to take possession of it. November.

[c] Sandoval, i. p. 32. Miniana, Contin. p. 14.

This

This was the more neceſſary, becauſe, according to the forms of the German conſtitution, he could not, before the ceremony of a publick coronation, exerciſe any act of juriſdiction or authority [f]. Book I.

Their diſcontent increaſes.

Their certain knowledge of this reſolution augmented ſo much the diſguſt of the Spaniards, that a ſullen and refractory ſpirit prevailed among perſons of all ranks. The Pope having granted the king the tenths of all eccleſiaſtical benefices in Caſtile to aſſiſt him in carrying on war with greater vigour againſt the Turks, a convocation of the clergy unanimouſly refuſed to levy that ſum, upon pretence that it ought never to be exacted but at thoſe times when Chriſtendom was actually invaded by the Infidels; and though Leo, in order to ſupport his authority, laid the kingdom under an interdict, ſo little regard was paid to a cenſure which was univerſally deemed unjuſt, that Charles himſelf applied to have it taken off. Thus the Spaniſh clergy, beſides their merit in oppoſing the uſurpations of the Pope, and diſregarding the influence of the crown, gained the exemption which they had claimed [g].

[f] Sabinus. P. Barre, viii. 1085. [g] P. Martyr, Ep. 462. Ferreras viii. 473.

THE

Book I.

An insurrection in Valencia.

The commotions which arose in the kingdom of Valencia, annexed to the crown of Aragon, were more formidable, and produced more dangerous and lasting effects. A seditious monk having by his sermons excited the citizens of Valencia, the capital city, to take arms, and to punish certain criminals in a tumultuary manner, the people, pleased with this exercise of power, and with such a discovery of their own importance, not only refused to lay down their arms, but formed themselves into troops and companies that they might be regularly trained to martial exercises. To obtain some security against the oppression of the grandees was the motive of this association, and proved a powerful bond of union; for as the aristocratical privileges and independence were more complete in Valencia than in any other of the Spanish kingdoms, the nobles, being scarcely accountable for their conduct to any superior, treated the people not only as vassals but as slaves. They were alarmed, however, at the progress of this unexpected insurrection, as it might encourage the people to attempt shaking off the yoke altogether; but as they could not repress them without taking arms, it became necessary to

1520. Its progress.

have recourse to the Emperor, and to desire his permission to attack them. At the same time

 the

the people made choice of deputies to represent their grievances, and to implore the protection of their sovereign. Happily for the latter, they arrived at court when Charles was exasperated to an high degree against the nobility. As he was eager to visit Germany, where his presence became every day more necessary, and as his Flemish courtiers were still more impatient to return into their native country, and to carry thither the spoils which they had amassed in Castile, it was impossible for him to hold the Cortes of Valencia in person. He had for that reason empowered the cardinal Adrian to represent him in that assembly, and in his name to receive their oath of allegiance, to confirm their privileges with the usual solemnities, and to demand of them a free gift. But the Valencian nobles, who considered this measure as an indignity to their country, which was no less entitled, than his other kingdoms, to the honour of their sovereign's presence, declared that by the fundamental laws of the constitution they could neither acknowledge a person who was absent as king, nor grant him any subsidy, and to this declaration they adhered with an haughty and inflexible obstinacy. Charles, piqued by their behaviour, decided in favour of the people, and rashly authorized them to continue in arms. Their deputies returned in triumph, and were received

Book I.

received by their fellow-citizens as the deliverers of their country; and the infolence of the multitude increafing with their fuccefs, they expelled all the nobles out of the city, committed the government to magiftrates of their own election, and entered into an affociation diftinguifhed by the name of *Germanada* or *Brotherhood*, which proved the fource not only of the wildeft diforders, but of the moft fatal calamities in that kingdom [h].

The Cortes of Caftile fummoned to meet in Galicia.

MEANWHILE, the kingdom of Caftile was agitated with no lefs violence. No fooner was the Emperor's intention to leave Spain made known, than feveral cities of the firft rank refolved to remonftrate againft it, and to crave redrefs once more of thofe grievances which they had formerly laid before him. Charles artfully avoided admitting their deputies to audience; and as he faw from this circumftance, how difficult it would be at this juncture to reftrain the mutinous fpirit of the greater cities, he fummoned the Cortes of Caftile to meet at Compoftella, a town in Galicia. His only reafon for calling that affembly, was the hope of obtaining another donative; for as his treafury had been exhaufted in the fame proportion that the riches of his minifters increafed, he could not, without

[h] P. Martyr. Ep. 651. Ferreras viii. 476, 485.

fome

fome additional aid, appear in Germany with fplendour fuited to the Imperial dignity. To appoint a meeting of the Cortes in fo remote a province, and to demand a new fubfidy before the time for paying the former was expired, were innovations of a moft dangerous tendency; and among people jealous of their liberties, and accuftomed to fupply the wants of their fovereigns with a very frugal hand, excited an univerfal alarm. The magiftrates of Toledo remonftrated againft both thefe meafures in a very high tone; the inhabitants of Valladolid, who expected that the Cortes fhould have been held in that city, were fo enraged that they took arms in a tumultuary manner; and if Charles with his foreign counfellors had not fortunately made their efcape during a violent tempeft, they would have maffacred all the Flemings, and have prevented him from continuing his journey towards Compoftella.

The proceedings of that affembly.

April 1.

Every city through which they paffed, petitioned againft holding a Cortes in Galicia, a point with regard to which Charles was inflexible. But though the utmoft influence had been exerted by the minifters, in order to procure a choice of reprefentatives favourable to their defigns, fuch was the temper of the nation, that, at the opening of the affembly, there appeared among

Book I.

among many of the members unuſual ſymptoms of ill-humour, which threatened a fierce oppoſition to all the meaſures of the court. No repreſentatives were ſent by Toledo, for the lot, according to which, by ancient cuſtom, the election was determined in that city, having fallen upon two perſons, devoted to the Flemiſh miniſters, their fellow-citizens refuſed to grant them a commiſſion in the uſual form, and in their ſtead made choice of two deputies, whom they empowered to repair to Compoſtella, and to proteſt againſt the lawfulneſs of the Cortes aſſembled there. The repreſentatives of Salamanca refuſed to take the uſual oath of fidelity, unleſs Charles conſented to change the place of meeting. Thoſe of Toro, Madrid, Cordova, and ſeveral other places, declared the demand of another donative to be unprecedented, unconſtitutional, and unneceſſary. All the arts, however, which influence popular aſſemblies, bribes, promiſes, threats, and even force, were employed in order to gain members. The nobles, ſoothed by the reſpectful aſſiduity with which Chievres and the other Flemings payed court to them, or inſtigated by a mean jealouſy of that ſpirit of independence which they ſaw riſing among the commons, openly favoured the pretenſions of the court, or at the utmoſt did not oppoſe them; and at laſt, in contempt

The diſaffection of the Caſtilians increaſes.

not

not only of the ſentiments of the nation, but of the ancient forms of the conſtitution, a majority voted to grant the donative for which the Emperor had applied [i]. Together with this grant, the Cortes laid before Charles a repreſentation of thoſe grievances whereof his people craved redreſs; but he, having obtained from them all that he could expect, paid no attention to this ill-timed petition, which it was no longer dangerous to diſregard [k]. Book I.

As nothing now retarded his embarkation, he diſcloſed his intention with regard to the regency of Caſtile during his abſence, which he had hitherto kept ſecret, and nominated cardinal Adrian to that office. The viceroyalty of Aragon he conferred on Don John de Lanuza; that of Valencia on Don Diego de Mendoza Condé de Melito. The choice of the two latter was univerſally acceptable; but the advancement of Adrian, though the only Fleming who had preſerved any reputation among the Spaniards, animated the Caſtilians with new hatred againſt foreigners; and even the nobles, who had ſo tamely ſuffered other inroads upon the conſtitution, felt the indignity offered to their own order by his promotion, and remonſtrated Charles appoints regents during his abſence,

[i] P. Martyr. Ep. 663. Sandoval, p. 32, &c.
[k] Sandoval, 84.

againſt

Book I. against it as illegal. But Charles's desire of visiting Germany, as well as the impatience of his ministers to leave Spain, were now so much increased, that without regarding the murmurs of the Castilians, or even taking time to provide any remedy against an insurrection in Toledo, which at that time threatened, and afterwards produced most formidable effects, he sailed from Corogna on the twenty-second of May; and by setting out so abruptly in quest of a new crown, he endangered a more important one of which he was already in possession[1].

and embarks for the Low Countries.

[1] P. Martyr. Ep. 670. Sandov. 86.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK II.

MANY concurring circumſtances not only called Charles's thoughts towards the affairs of Germany, but rendered his preſence in that country neceſſary. The Electors grew impatient of ſo long an interregnum; his hereditary dominions were diſturbed by inteſtine commotions; and the new opinions concerning religion, made ſuch rapid progreſs as required the moſt ſerious conſideration. But above all, the motions of the French king drew his attention, and convinced him that it was neceſſary to take meaſures for his own defence, both with ſpeed and with vigour.

Book II.

Charles's preſence in Germany neceſſary.

Book II.

Rife and progrefs of the rivalfhip between Charles and Francis I.

When Charles and Francis entered the lifts as candidates for the Imperial dignity, they conducted their rivalfhip with many profeffions of regard for each other, and with repeated declarations that they would not fuffer any tincture of enmity to mingle itfelf with this honourable emulation. "We both court the fame miftrefs," faid Francis, with his ufual vivacity, "each ought to urge his fuit with all the addrefs of which he is mafter; the moft fortunate will prevail, and the other muft reft contented [a]." But though two young and high-fpirited Princes, and each of them animated with the hope of fuccefs, might be capable of forming fuch a generous refolution, it was foon found that they promifed upon a moderation too refined and difinterefted for human nature. The preference given to Charles in the fight of all Europe, mortified Francis to the higheft degree, and infpired him with all the paffions natural to difappointed ambition. To this was owing the perfonal jealoufy and rivalfhip which fubfifted between the two monarchs during their whole reign; and the rancour of thefe, added to a real oppofition of intereft, and to many unavoidable caufes of difcord, involved them in almoft perpetual hoftilities. Charles had paid no regard to the principal article in the treaty of Noyon, by

[a] Guic. lib. 13. p. 159.

by refuſing oftner than once to do juſtice to John d'Albret, the excluded monarch of Navarre, whom Francis was bound in honour, and prompted by intereſt, to reſtore to his throne. The French king had pretenſions to the crown of Naples, of which Ferdinand had deprived his predeceſſor by a moſt unjuſtifiable breach of faith. The Emperor might reclaim the dutchy of Milan as a fief of the empire, which Francis had ſeized, and ſtill kept in poſſeſſion, without having received inveſtiture. Charles conſidered the dutchy of Burgundy as the patrimonial domain of his anceſtors, wreſted from them by the unjuſt policy of Louis XI. and obſerved with the greateſt jealouſy the ſtrict connections which Francis had formed with the duke of Gueldres, the hereditary enemy of his family. Book II.

When the ſources of diſcord were ſo many and various, peace could be of no long continuance, even between princes the moſt exempt from ambition or emulation. But as the ſhock between two ſuch mighty antagoniſts could not fail of being deſperate and dangerous, they both diſcovered no ſmall ſolicitude about its conſequences, and took time not only to collect and to ponder their own ſtrength, and to compare it with that of their adverſary, but to Their deliberations previous to the commencement of hoſtilities.

 ſecure

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI

Book II. ſecure the friendſhip or aſſiſtance of the other European powers.

They negociate with the Pope.

The Pope had equal reaſon to dread the two rivals, and ſaw that he who prevailed, would become abſolute maſter in Italy. If it had been in his power to engage them in hoſtilities, without rendering Lombardy the theatre of war, nothing would have been more agreeable to him than to ſee them waſte each other's ſtrength in endleſs quarrels. But this was impoſſible. Leo foreſaw, that, on the firſt rupture between the two monarchs, the armies of France and Spain would take the field in the Milaneſe; and while the ſcene of their operations was ſo near, and the ſubject for which they contended ſo intereſting to him, he could not long remain neuter. He was obliged, therefore, to adapt his plan of conduct to his political ſituation. He courted and ſoothed the Emperor and king of France with equal induſtry and addreſs; and though warmly ſolicited by each of them to eſpouſe his cauſe, he aſſumed all the appearances of entire impartiality, and attempted to conceal his real ſentiments under that profound diſſimulation which ſeems to have been affected by moſt of the Italian politicians in that age.

With the Venetians.

The views and intereſt of the Venetians were not different from thoſe of the Pope; nor were they

they leſs ſolicitous to prevent Italy from becoming the ſeat of war, and their own republick from being involved in the quarrel. But through all Leo's artifices, and notwithſtanding his high pretenſions to a perfect neutrality, it was viſible that he leaned towards the Emperor, from whom he had both more to fear and more to hope than from Francis; and it was equally manifeſt, that if it became neceſſary to take a ſide, the Venetians would, from motives of the ſame nature, declare for the king of France. No conſiderable aſſiſtance, however, was to be expected from the Italian ſtates, who were jealous to an extreme degree of the Tranſalpine powers, and careful to preſerve the balance between them, unleſs when they were ſeduced to violate this favourite maxim of their policy, by the certain proſpect of ſome great advantage to themſelves. Book II.

But the chief attention both of Charles and of Francis, was employed in order to gain the king of England, from whom each of them expected aſſiſtance more effectual, and afforded with leſs political caution. Henry VIII. had aſcended the throne of that kingdom in the year one thouſand five hundred and nine, with ſuch circumſtances of advantage, as promiſed a reign of diſtinguiſhed felicity and ſplendour. The union in his perſon of the two contending titles of York

With Henry VIII.

The great power of that monarch.

Book II. York and Lancaſter; the alacrity and emulation with which both factions obeyed him, not only enabled him to exert in his domeſtic government a degree of vigour and authority which none of his predeceſſors could have ſafely aſſumed; but permitted him to take a ſhare in the affairs of the continent, from which the attention of the Engliſh had long been diverted by their unhappy diviſions. The immenſe treaſures which his father had amaſſed, rendered him the moſt wealthy prince in Europe. The peace which had ſubſiſted under the cautious adminiſtration of that monarch, was of ſufficient length to recruit the nation after the deſolation of the civil wars, but had not enervated its ſpirit; and the Engliſh, aſhamed of having rendered their own country ſo long a ſcene of diſcord and bloodſhed, were eager to diſplay their valour in ſome foreign war, and to revive the memory of the victories gained by their anceſtors. Henry's own temper perfectly ſuited the ſtate of his kingdom, and the diſpoſition of his ſubjects. Ambitious, active, enterprizing and accompliſhed in all the martial exerciſes which in that age formed a chief part in the education of perſons of noble birth, and inſpired them with an early love of war, he longed to engage in real action, and to ſignalize the beginning of his reign by ſome remarkable exploit. An opportunity ſoon

His character.

preſented

presented itself; and the victory at Guinegate, together with the successful sieges of Teroüenne and Tournay, though of little utility to England, reflected great lustre on its monarch, and confirmed the idea which foreign princes entertained of his power and importance. So many concurring causes, added to the happy situation of his own dominions, which secured them from foreign invasion; and to the fortunate circumstance of his being in possession of Calais, which served not only as a key to France, but opened an easy passage into the Netherlands, rendered the King of England the natural guardian of the liberties of Europe, and the arbiter between the Emperor and French monarch. Henry himself was sensible of this singular advantage, and convinced, that, in order to preserve the balance even, it was his office to prevent either of the rivals from acquiring such superiority of power as might be fatal to the other, or formidable to the rest of Christendom. But he was destitute of the penetration, and still more of the temper which such a function required. Influenced by caprice, by vanity, by resentment, by affection, he was incapable of forming any regular and extensive system of policy, or of adhering to it with steadiness. His measures seldom resulted from attention to the general welfare, or from a deliberate regard to his own interest, but were

Book II. dictated by paſſions which rendered him blind to both, and prevented his gaining that aſcendant in the affairs of Europe, or from reaping ſuch advantages to himſelf, as a prince of greater art, though with inferior talents, might have eaſily ſecured.

And of his miniſter cardinal Wolſey.

All the impolitic ſteps in Henry's adminiſtration muſt not, however, be imputed to defects in his own character; many of them were owing to the violent paſſions and inſatiable ambition of his prime miniſter and favourite cardinal Wolſey. This man, from one of the loweſt ranks in life, had riſen to an height of power and dignity, to which no Engliſh ſubject ever arrived; and governed the haughty, preſumptuous and untractable ſpirit of Henry with abſolute authority. Great talents, and of very different kinds, fitted him for the two oppoſite ſtations of miniſter, and of favourite. His profound judgment, his unwearied induſtry, his thorough acquaintance with the ſtate of the kingdom, his extenſive knowledge of the views and intereſts of foreign courts, qualified him for that uncontrouled direction of affairs with which he was intruſted. The elegance of his manners, the gaiety of his converſation, his inſinuating addreſs, his love of magnificence, and his proficiency in thoſe parts of literature of which Henry

Henry was fond, gained him the affection and confidence of the young monarch. Wolsey was far from employing this vast and almost royal power, to promote either the true interest of the nation, or the real grandeur of his master. Rapacious at the same time, and profuse, he was insatiable in desiring wealth. Of boundless ambition, he aspired after new honours with an eagerness unabated by his former success; and being rendered presumptuous by his uncommon elevation, and by the ascendant which he had gained over a prince, who scarcely brooked advice from any other person, he discovered in his whole demeanour the most overbearing haughtiness and pride. To these passions he himself sacrificed every consideration; and whoever endeavoured to obtain his favour, or that of his master, found it necessary to sooth and to gratify them.

The court paid to Wolsey by Francis.

As all the states of Europe sought Henry's friendship at that time, all courted his minister with incredible attention and obsequiousness, and strove by presents, by promises, or by flattery to work upon his avarice, his ambition, or his pride[b]. Francis had, in the year one thousand five hundred and eighteen, employed Bonnivet,

[b] Fiddes's Life of Wolsey, 166. Rymer's Fœdera, xiii. 718.

admiral

BOOK II. admiral of France, one of his moſt accompliſhed and artful courtiers, to gain the haughty prelate. He himſelf beſtowed on him every mark of reſpect and confidence. He conſulted him with regard to his moſt important affairs, and received his reſponſes with implicit deference. By theſe arts, together with the grant of a large penſion, Francis ſecured the Cardinal, who perſuaded his maſter to ſurrender Tournay to France, to conclude a treaty of marriage between his daughter the princeſs Mary and the Dauphin, and to conſent to a perſonal interview with the French king [c]. From that time, the moſt familiar intercourſe ſubſiſted between the two courts; Francis, ſenſible of the great value of Wolſey's friendſhip, laboured to ſecure the continuance of it by every poſſible expreſſion of regard, beſtowing on him in all his letters the honourable appellations of Father, Tutor, and Governor.

And by Charles.

CHARLES obſerved the progreſs of this union with the utmoſt jealouſy and concern. His near affinity to the king of England, gave him ſome title to his friendſhip; and ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne of Caſtile, he had attempted to ingratiate himſelf with Wolſey, by ſettling on him a penſion of three thouſand livres. His

c Herbert's Hiſt. of Henry VIII. 30. Rymer, xiii. 624.

chief

chief solicitude at present was to prevent the intended interview with Francis, the effects of which upon two young princes, whose hearts were no less susceptible of friendship than their manners were capable of inspiring it, he extremely dreaded. But after many delays, occasioned by difficulties about the ceremonial, and by the anxious precautions of both courts for the safety of their respective sovereigns, the time and place of meeting were at last fixed. Messengers had been sent to different courts, inviting all comers, who were gentlemen, to enter the lists at tilt and tournament, against the two monarchs and their knights; and both Francis and Henry loved the splendour of these spectacles too well, and were too much delighted with the graceful figure which they made on such occasions, to forego the pleasure or glory which they expected from such a singular and brilliant assembly. Nor was the Cardinal less fond of displaying his magnificence in the presence of two courts, and of discovering to the two nations the extent of his influence over both their monarchs. Charles, finding it impossible to prevent the interview, endeavoured to disappoint its effects, and to pre-occupy the favour of the English monarch and his minister, by an act of complaisance still more flattering and more uncommon. Having sailed from Corunna, as has already been related, he

BOOK II.

Charles visits England. May 26th.

he steered his course directly towards England, and relying wholly on Henry's generosity for his own safety, landed at Dover. This unexpected visit surprized the nation. Wolsey, however, was well acquainted with the Emperor's intention. A negociation, unknown to the historians of that age, had been carried on between him and the court of Spain; this visit had been concerted; and Charles granted the Cardinal, whom he calls his *most dear friend*, an additional pension of seven thousand ducats [d]. Henry, who was then at Canterbury, in his way to France, immediately dispatched Wolsey to Dover, in order to welcome the Emperor; and being highly pleased with an event so soothing to his vanity, hastened to receive, with suitable respect, a guest who had placed in him such unbounded confidence. Charles, to whom time was precious, staid only four days in England: But during that short space, he had the address not only to give Henry favourable impressions of his character and intentions, but to detach Wolsey entirely from the interest of the French king. All the grandeur, wealth and power, which the Cardinal possessed, did not satisfy his ambitious mind, while there was one step higher to which an ecclesiastic could ascend. The papal dignity had for some time been the object of his wishes, and Francis, as the most effectual method of

Insinuates himself into favour both with the King and Wolsey.

[d] Rymer, xiii. 714.

securing

fecuring his friendfhip, had promifed to favour his pretenfions, on the firft vacancy, with all his intereft. But as the Emperor's influence in the college of cardinals was greatly fuperior to the French king's, Wolfey grafped eagerly at an offer which that artful prince had made him of exerting it vigoroufly in his behalf; and allured by this profpect, which under the pontificate of Leo, ftill in the prime of his life, was a very diftant one, he entered with warmth into all the Emperor's fchemes. No treaty, however, was concluded at that time between the two monarchs; but Henry, in return for the honour which Charles had done him, promifed to vifit him in fome place of the Low Countries, immediately after taking leave of the French king.

June 7th. Interview between Henry and Francis.

His interview with that prince was in an open plain between Guifnes and Ardres, where the two kings and their attendants, difplayed their magnificence with fuch emulation, and profufe expence, as procured it the name of the *Field of the Cloth of Gold.* Feats of chivalry, parties of gallantry, and fuch exercifes and paftimes as were in that age reckoned manly or elegant, rather than ferious bufinefs, occupied both courts during eighteen days that they con-

Book II. tinued together [c]. Whatever impreffion the engaging manners of Francis, and the liberal and unfufpicious confidence with which he treated Henry, made on the mind of that monarch, was foon effaced by Wolfey's artifices, or by the interview which he had with the Emperor at Gravelines; which was conducted by Charles with lefs pomp than that near Guifnes, but with greater attention to his political intereft.

July 10.

Henry's ideas of his own importance.

THIS affiduity with which the two greateft monarchs in Europe paid court to Henry, ap-

[c] The French and Englifh hiftorians defcribe the pomp of this interview, and the various fpectacles, with great minutenefs. One circumftance mentioned by the marechal de Fleuranges, who was prefent, and which appears fingular in the prefent age, is commonly omitted. "After the tournament," fays he, "the French and Englifh wreftlers made their appearance, and wreftled in prefence of the Kings, and the ladies; and as there were many ftout wreftlers there, it afforded excellent paftime; but as the King of France had neglected to bring any wreftlers out of Bretagne, the Englifh gained the prize.——After this, the Kings of France and England retired to a tent, where they drank together, and the King of England feizing the King of France by the collar, faid, "*My brother, I muft wreftle with you,*" and endeavoured once or twice to trip up his heels; but the King of France, who is a dextrous wreftler, twifted him round, and threw him on the earth with prodigious violence. The King of England wanted to renew the combat, but was prevented." Memoires de Fleuranges, 12°. Paris, 1753. p. 329.

peared to him a plain acknowledgment that he held the balance in his hands, and convinced him of the juſtneſs of the motto which he had choſen, "That whoever he favoured would prevail." In this opinion he was confirmed by an offer which Charles made of ſubmitting any difference that might ariſe between him and Francis to his ſole arbitration. Nothing could have the appearance of greater candour and moderation, than the choice of a judge who was reckoned the common friend of both. But as the Emperor had now attached Wolſey entirely to his intereſt, no propoſal could be more inſidious, nor, as appeared by the ſequel, more fatal to the French king [f].

Coronation of the Emperor.

Charles, notwithſtanding his partial fondneſs for the Netherlands, the place of his nativity, made no long ſtay there; and after receiving the homage and congratulations of his countrymen, haſtened to Aix-la-Chapelle, the place appointed by the golden bull for the coronation of the Emperor. There, in preſence of an aſſembly more numerous and ſplendid than had appeared on any former occaſion, the crown of Charlemagne was placed on his head, with all the pompous ſolemnity which the Germans affect in their publick ceremonies, and which

October 23.

[f] Herbert, 37.

they

Book II. they deem effential to the dignity of their Empire [g].

Solyman the Magnificent afcends the Ottoman throne.

Almost at the fame time, Solyman the Magnificent, one of the moft accomplifhed, enterprizing, and victorious of the Turkifh princes, a conftant and formidable rival to the Emperor, afcended the Ottoman throne. It was the peculiar glory of that period to produce monarchs the moft illuftrious, that have at any one time appeared in Europe. Leo, Charles, Francis, Henry and Solyman were each of them poffeffed of talents which would have rendered any age in which they happened to flourifh, confpicuous. But fuch a conftellation of great princes fhed uncommon luftre on the fixteenth century. In every conteft, great power and great abilities were fet in oppofition; and the efforts of valour and conduct on one fide, counterbalanced by an equal exertion of the fame qualities on the other, not only occafioned fuch a variety of events as renders the hiftory of that period interefting, but ferved to check the exorbitant progrefs of any of thofe princes, and to prevent their attaining fuch pre-eminence in power as would have been fatal to the liberty and happinefs of mankind.

[g] Hartman. Mauri Relatio Coronat. Car. V. ap Goldaft. Polit. Imperial. Franc. 1614. fol. p. 264.

THE firſt act of the Emperor's adminiſtration was to appoint a Diet of the empire to be held at Worms on the ſixth of January, one thouſand five hundred and twenty-one. In his circular letters to the different princes, he informed them, that he had called this aſſembly in order to concert with them the moſt proper meaſures for checking the progreſs of thoſe new and dangerous opinions, which threatened to diſturb the peace of Germany, and to overturn the religion of their anceſtors.

Book II.

Diet called to meet at Worms.

CHARLES had in view the opinions which had been propagated by Luther and his diſciples ſince the year one thouſand five hundred and ſeventeen; and as theſe led to that happy reformation in religion which reſcued one part of Europe from the papal yoke, mitigated its rigour in the other, and produced a revolution in the ſentiments of mankind, the greateſt as well as the moſt beneficial that has happened ſince the publication of Chriſtianity, not only the events which at firſt gave birth to ſuch opinions, but the cauſes which rendered their progreſs ſo rapid and ſucceſsful, deſerve to be conſidered with minute attention.

Riſe of the Reformation.

To overturn a ſyſtem of religious belief founded on ancient and deep-rooted prejudices,

Book II. ſupported by power, and defended with art and induſtry; to eſtabliſh in its room doctrines of the moſt contrary genius and tendency; and to accompliſh all this, not by external violence or the force of arms, are operations which hiſtorians the leaſt prone to credulity and ſuperſtition, muſt aſcribe to that Divine Providence which can, with infinite eaſe, bring about events that to human ſagacity appear impoſſible. The interpoſition of heaven in favour of the Chriſtian religion at its firſt publication, was manifeſted by miracles and prophecies wrought and uttered in confirmation of it: And though none of the reformers poſſeſſed, or pretended to poſſeſs, theſe ſupernatural gifts, yet that wonderful preparation of circumſtances which diſpoſed the minds of men for receiving their doctrines, that ſingular combination of cauſes which ſecured their ſucceſs, and enabled men, deſtitute of power and of policy, to triumph over thoſe who employed both againſt them, may be conſidered as no ſlight proof that the ſame hand which planted the Chriſtian religion, protected the reformed faith, and reared it, from beginnings extremely feeble, to an amazing degree of ſtrength and maturity.

From inconſiderable beginnings.

It was from cauſes, ſeemingly fortuitous, and from a ſource very inconſiderable, that all the

the mighty effects of the Reformation flowed. Leo X. when raised to the papal throne, found the revenues of the church exhausted by the vast projects of his two ambitious predecessors, Alexander VI. and Julius II. His own temper, naturally liberal and enterprizing, rendered him incapable of that severe and patient œconomy which the situation of his finances required. On the contrary, his schemes for aggrandizing the family of Medici, his love of splendour, his taste for pleasure, and his magnificence in rewarding men of genius, involved him daily in new expences; in order to provide a fund for which, he tried every device, that the fertile invention of priests had fallen upon to drain the credulous multitude. Among others, he had recourse to a sale of *Indulgences*. According to the doctrine of the Romish church, all the good works of the Saints, over and above those which were necessary towards their own justification, are deposited, together with the infinite merits of Jesus Christ, in one inexhaustible treasury. The keys of this were committed to St. Peter and to his successors the Popes, who may open it at pleasure, and by transferring a portion of this superabundant merit to any particular person, for a sum of money, may convey to him either the pardon of his own sins, or a release for any one in whom he is interested, from the

A sale of indulgences published by Leo X.

 pains

Book II. pains of purgatory. Such Indulgences were first invented in the eleventh century by Urban II. as a recompence for those who went in person upon the wild enterprize of conquering the Holy Land. They were afterwards granted to those who hired a soldier for that purpose; and in process of time were bestowed on such as gave money for accomplishing any pious work enjoined by the pope[h]. Julius II. had bestowed Indulgences on all who contributed towards building the church of St. Peter at Rome; and as Leo was carrying on that magnificent and expensive fabric, his grant was founded on the same pretence[i].

So conducted as to give general offence.

The right of promulgating of these Indulgences in Germany, together with a share in the profits arising from the sale of them, was granted to Albert, elector of Metz and archbishop of Magdeburg, who, as his chief agent for retailing them in Saxony, employed Tetzel, a Dominican friar, of licentious morals, but of an active spirit, and remarkable for his noisy and popular eloquence. He, assisted by the monks of his order, executed the commission with great zeal and success, but with little discretion or decency; and though by magnifying exces-

[h] History of the Council of Trent, by F. Paul, p. 4.

[i] Palavic. Hist. Conc. Trident. p. 4.

sively

ſively the benefit of their Indulgences [k], and by diſpoſing of them at a very low price, they carried on for ſome time an extenſive and lucrative traffick among the credulous multitude, the extravagance of their aſſertions, as well as the irregularities in their conduct, came at laſt to give

[k] As the form of theſe Indulgences, and the benefits which they were ſuppoſed to convey, are unknown in proteſtant countries, and little underſtood, at preſent, in ſeveral places where the Roman catholic religion is eſtabliſhed, I have, for the information of my readers, tranſlated the form of abſolution uſed by Tetzel. "May our Lord Jeſus Chriſt have mercy upon thee, and abſolve thee by the merits of his moſt holy paſſion. And I by his authority, that of his bleſſed apoſtles Peter and Paul, and of the moſt holy Pope, granted and committed to me in theſe parts, do abſolve thee, firſt from all eccleſiaſtical cenſures in whatever manner they have been incurred, and then from all thy ſins, tranſgreſſions and exceſſes, how enormous ſoever they may be, even from ſuch as are reſerved for the cognizance of the holy ſee, and as far as the keys of the holy church extend; I remit to you all puniſhment which you deſerve in Purgatory on their account, and I reſtore you to the holy ſacraments of the church, to the unity of the faithful, and to that innocence and purity which you poſſeſſed at baptiſm, ſo that when you die the gates of puniſhment ſhall be ſhut, and the gates of the paradiſe of delight ſhall be opened, and if you ſhall not die at preſent, this grace ſhall remain in full force when you are at the point of death. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt." Seckend Comment. lib. i. p. 14.

The terms in which Tetzel and his aſſociates deſcribed the benefits of Indulgences, and the neceſſity of purchaſing them, are ſo extravagant, that they appear to be almoſt incredible.

Book II. give general offence. The princes and nobles were irritated at seeing their vassals drained of so much wealth, in order to replenish the treasury of a profuse pontiff. Men of piety regretted the delusion of the people, who being taught to rely for the pardon of their sins on the Indulgences which they purchased, did not think it incumbent on them either to abound in faith, or to practise holiness. Even the most unthink-

credible. If any man (said they) purchases letters of indulgence, his soul may rest secure with respect to its salvation. The souls confined in purgatory, for whose redemption indulgences are purchased, as soon as the money tinkles in the chest, instantly escape from that place of torment, and ascend into heaven. That the efficacy of indulgences was so great, that the most heinous sins, even if one should violate (which was impossible) the Mother of God, would be remitted and expiated by them, and the person be freed both from punishment and guilt. That this was the unspeakable gift of God, in order to reconcile men to himself. That the cross erected by the preachers of indulgences, was as efficacious as the cross of Christ itself. Lo! the heavens are open; if you enter not now, when will you enter? For twelve-pence you may redeem the soul of your father out of purgatory; and are you so ungrateful, that you will not rescue your parent from torment? If you had but one coat, you ought to strip yourself instantly, and sell it, in order to purchase such benefits, &c. These, and many such extravagant expressions, are selected out of Luther's works by Chemnitius in his Examen Concilii Tridentini apud Herm. Vonder Hardt. Hist. Liter. Reform. pars iv. p. 6. The same author has published several of Tetzel's Discourses, which prove that these expressions were neither singular nor exaggerated. Ibid. p. 14.

ing

ing were ſhocked at the ſcandalous behaviour of Tetzel and his aſſociates, who often ſquandered in drunkenneſs, gaming, and low debauchery, thoſe ſums which were piouſly beſtowed in hopes of obtaining eternal happineſs; and all began to wiſh that ſome check were given to this commerce, no leſs detrimental to ſociety than deſtructive to religion.

First appearance of Luther, and his character.

Such was the favourable juncture, and ſo diſpoſed were the minds of his countrymen to liſten to his diſcourſes, when Martin Luther firſt began to call in queſtion the efficacy of Indulgences, and to declaim againſt the vicious lives and falſe doctrines of the perſons employed in promulgating them. He was a native of Eiſleben in Saxony, and though born of poor parents, had received a learned education, during the progreſs of which he gave many indications of uncommon vigour and acuteneſs of genius. As his mind was naturally ſuſceptible of ſerious impreſſions, and tinctured with ſomewhat of that religious melancholy which delights in the ſolitude and devotion of a monaſtic life, he retired into a convent of Auguſtinian friars, and without ſuffering the intreaties of his parents to divert him from what he thought his duty to God, he aſſumed the habit of that order. There he acquired great reputation, not only for piety,

Book II. but for his love of knowledge, and unwearied application to ſtudy. He had been taught the ſcholaſtic philoſophy and theology which were then in vogue by very able maſters, and wanted not penetration to comprehend all the niceties and diſtinctions with which they abound; but his underſtanding, naturally ſound, and ſuperior to every thing frivolous, ſoon became diſguſted with theſe ſubtile and uninſtructive ſciences, and ſought for ſome more ſolid foundation of knowledge and of piety in the holy ſcriptures. Having found a copy of the Bible, which lay neglected in the library of his monaſtery, he abandoned all other purſuits, and devoted himſelf to the ſtudy of it, with ſuch eagerneſs and aſſiduity, as aſtoniſhed the monks, who were little accuſtomed to derive their theological notions from that ſource. The great progreſs which he made in this uncommon courſe of ſtudy, augmented ſo much the fame both of his ſanctity and of his learning, that Frederick, Elector of Saxony, having founded an univerſity at Wittemberg on the Elbe, the place of his reſidence, Luther was choſen firſt to teach philoſophy, and afterwards theology there, and diſcharged both offices in ſuch a manner, that he was deemed the chief ornament of that ſociety.

While

He oppoſes the ſale of indulgences.

While Luther was at the height of his reputation and authority, Tetzel began to publiſh Indulgences in the neighbourhood of Wittemberg, and to aſcribe to them the ſame imaginary virtues, which had, in other places, impoſed on the credulity of the people. As Saxony was not more enlightened than the other provinces of Germany, Tetzel met with prodigious ſucceſs there. It was with the utmoſt concern, that Luther beheld the artifices of thoſe who ſold, and the ſimplicity of thoſe who bought, Indulgences. The opinions of Thomas Aquinas and the other ſchoolmen, on which the doctrine of Indulgences was founded, had already loſt much of their authority with him; and the Scriptures, which he began to conſider as the great ſtandard of theological truth, afforded no countenance to a practice, equally ſubverſive of faith and of morals. His warm and impetuous temper did not ſuffer him long to conceal ſuch important diſcoveries, or to continue a ſilent ſpectator of the deluſion of his countrymen. From the pulpit in the great church of Wittemberg he inveighed bitterly againſt the irregularities and vices of the monks who publiſhed Indulgences; he ventured to examine the doctrines which they taught, and pointed out to the people the danger of relying for ſalvation upon any other means than thoſe appointed by God

BOOK II. God in his word. The boldness and novelty of these opinions drew great attention, and being recommended by the authority of Luth[illegible] sonal character, and delivered with a p[illegible]ar and persuasive eloquence, they made a deep impression on his hearers. Encouraged by the favourable reception of his doctrines among the people, he wrote to Albert, elector of Mentz, and archbishop of Magdeburg, to whose jurisdiction that part of Saxony was subject, and remonstrated warmly against the false opinions and wicked lives of the preachers of Indulgences; but he found that prelate too deeply interested in their success to correct their abuses. His next attempt was to gain the suffrage of men of learning. For this purpose, he published ninety-five theses, containing his sentiments with regard to Indulgences. These he proposed, not as points fully established, or of undoubted certainty, but as subjects of inquiry and disputation; he appointed a day, on which the learned were invited to impugn them either in person, or by writing; and subjoined to the whole, solemn protestations of his high respect for the apostolic see, and of his implicit submission to its authority. No opponent appeared at the time prefixed; the theses spread over Germany with astonishing rapidity; they were read with the greatest eagerness; and all admired

He publishes his theses against them.

mired the boldneſs of the man who had ventured to call in queſtion the plenitude of papal power, indulge attack the Dominicans, armed with all the terrors of inquiſitorial authority [1]. Book II.

Supported by his own order.

The Friars of St. Auguſtine, Luther's own order, though addicted with no leſs obſequiouſneſs than the other monaſtic fraternities to the papal ſee, gave no check to the publication of theſe uncommon opinions. Luther had by his piety and learning acquired extraordinary authority among his brethren; he profeſſed the higheſt regard for the authority of the Pope; his profeſſions were at that time ſincere; and as a ſecret enmity, excited by intereſt or emulation, ſubſiſts among all the monaſtic orders in the Romiſh church, the Auguſtinians were highly pleaſed with his invectives againſt the Dominicans, and hoped to ſee them expoſed to the hatred and ſcorn of the people. Nor was his ſovereign the Elector of Saxony, the wiſeſt prince at that time in Germany, diſſatisfied with this obſtruction which Luther threw in the way of the publication of Indulgences. He ſecretly encouraged the attempt, and flattered himſelf

[1] Lutheri Opera Jenæ, 1612. vol. i. præfat. 3. p. 2. 66. Hiſt. of Counc. of Trent by F. Paul, p. 4. Seckend. Com. Apol. p. 16.

that

Book II. that this dispute among the Ecclesiasticks themselves, might give some check to the exactions of the court of Rome, which the secular princes had long, though without success, been endeavouring to oppose.

Many endeavour to confute him.

Many zealous champions immediately arose to defend opinions on which the wealth and power of the church were founded, against Luther's attacks. In opposition to his theses, Tetzel published counter-theses at Francfort on the Oder; Eccius, a celebrated Divine of Augsburg, endeavoured to refute his notions; and Prierias, a Dominican friar, master of the sacred palace and Inquisitor-general, wrote against him with all the virulence of a scholastic disputant. But the manner in which they conducted the controversy, did little service to their cause. Luther attempted to combat Indulgences by arguments founded in reason, or derived from scripture; they produced nothing in support of them but the sentiments of schoolmen, the conclusions of the canon law, and the decrees of Popes [m]. The decision of judges so partial and interested, did not satisfy the people, who began to call in question the authority even of these venerable guides, when they found them standing

[m] F. Paul, p. 6. Seckend. p. 40. Palavic. p. 8.

ing in direct opposition to the dictates of reason, Book II. and the determinations of the divine law [n]. *

Mean-

[n] Seckend. p. 30.

* Guicciardini has asserted two things with regard to the first promulgation of Indulgences; 1. That Leo bestowed a gift of the profits arising from the sale of Indulgences in Saxony, and the adjacent provinces of Germany, upon his sister Magdalen, the wife of Francescetto Cibo. Guic. lib. 13. 168. 2. That Arcemboldo, a Genoese ecclesiastic, who had been bred a merchant, and still retained all the arts of that profession, was appointed by her to collect the money which should be raised. F. Paul has followed him in both these particulars, and adds, that the Augustinians in Saxony had been immemorially employed in preaching Indulgences; but that Arcemboldo and his deputies, hoping to gain more by committing this trust to the Dominicans, had made their bargain with Tetzel, and that Luther was prompted at first to oppose Tetzel and his associates, by a desire of taking revenge for this injury offered to his order. F. Paul, p. 5. Almost all the historians since their time, popish as well as protestant, have, without examination, admitted these assertions to be true upon their authority. But notwithstanding the concurring testimony of two authors so eminent both for exactness and veracity, we may observe,

1. That Felix Contolori, who searched the pontifical archives of purpose, could not find this pretended grant in any of those registers where it must necessarily have been recorded. Palav. p. 5.—2. That the profits arising from Indulgences in Saxony and the adjacent countries, had been granted not to Magdalen, but to Albert archbishop of Mentz, who had the right of nominating those who published them. Seck. p. 12. Luth. Oper. 1. præf. p. 1. Palav. p. 6.—3. That Arcemboldo never had concern in the publication of Indulgences in Saxony; his district was

Flanders

BOOK II.

The court of Rome at first disregarded Luther.

MEANWHILE, these novelties in Luther's doctrines which interested all Germany, excited little attention and no alarm in the court of Rome. Leo, fond of elegant and refined pleasures, intent upon great schemes of policy, a

Flanders and the Upper and Lower Rhine. Seck. p. 14. Palav. p. 6.—4. That Luther and his adherents never mention this grant of Leo's to his sister, though a circumstance of which they could hardly have been ignorant, and which they would have been careful not to suppress.—5. The publication of Indulgences in Germany, was not usually committed to the Augustinians. The promulgation of them at three different periods under Julius II. was granted to the Franciscans; the Dominicans had been employed in the same office a short time before the present period. Palav. p. 46.—6. The promulgation of those Indulgences, which first excited Luther's indignation, was entrusted to the archbishop of Mentz in conjunction with the guardian of the Franciscans; but the latter having declined accepting of that trust, the sole right became vested in the archbishop. Palav. 6. Seck. 16, 17.—7. Luther was not instigated by his superiors among the Augustinians to attack the Dominicans their rivals, or to depreciate Indulgences because they were promulgated by them; his opposition to their opinions and vices proceeded from more laudable motives. Seck. p. 15. 32. Lutheri Opera 1. p. 64. 6. 8. A diploma of Indulgences is published by Herm. Vonder Hardt, from which it appears, that the name of the guardian of the Franciscans is retained together with that of the archbishop, although the former did not act. The limits of the country to which their commissions extended, viz. the dioceses of Mentz, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, and the territories of the marquis of Brandenburgh, are mentioned in that diploma. Hist. Literaria Reformat. pars iv. p. 14.

stranger

ſtranger to theological controverſies, and apt to deſpiſe them, regarded with the utmoſt indifference the operations of an obſcure Friar, who, in the heart of Germany, carried on a ſcholaſtic diſputation in a barbarous ſtile. Little did he apprehend, or Luther himſelf dream, that the effects of this quarrel would be ſo fatal to the papal ſee. Leo imputed the whole to monaſtic enmity and emulation, and ſeemed inclined not to interpoſe in the conteſt, but to allow the Auguſtinians and Dominicans to wrangle about the matter with their uſual animoſity.

The progreſs of Luther's opinions.

The ſolicitations, however, of Luther's adverſaries, exaſperated to an high degree by the boldneſs and ſeverity with which he animadverted on their writings, together with the ſurprizing progreſs which his opinions made in different parts of Germany, rouzed at laſt the attention of the court of Rome, and obliged Leo to take meaſures for the ſecurity of the church againſt an attack that now appeared too ſerious to be deſpiſed. For this end, he ſummoned Luther to appear at Rome, within ſixty days, before the auditor of the chamber, and the ſame Prierias who had written againſt him, whom he empowered to examine his doctrines, and to decide concerning them. He wrote, at the ſame time, to the Elector of Saxony, be-

He is ſummoned to appear at Rome.

Book II. feeching him not to protect a man whofe heretical and profane tenets were fo fhocking to pious ears; and enjoined the Provincial of the Auguftinians to check by his authority the rafhnefs of an arrogant monk, which brought difgrace upon the order of St. Auguftine, and gave offence and difturbance to the whole church.

The Pope empowers his legate to try him in Germany.

FROM the ftrain of thefe letters, as well as from the nomination of a judge fo prejudiced and partial as Prierias, Luther eafily faw what fentence he might expect at Rome. He difcovered, for that reafon, the utmoft folicitude, to have his caufe tried in Germany, and before a lefs fufpected tribunal. The profeffors in the univerfity of Wittemberg, anxious for the fafety of a man who did fo much honour to their fociety, wrote to the Pope, and after employing feveral pretexts to excufe Luther from appearing at Rome, intreated Leo to commit the examination of his doctrines to fome perfons of learning and authority in Germany. The Elector requefted the fame thing of the Pope's legate at the diet of Augfburg; and as Luther himfelf, who, at that time, was fo far from having any intention to difclaim the papal authority, that he did not even entertain the fmalleft fufpicion concerning its divine original, had written to Leo a moft fubmiffive letter, promifing an

unreserved compliance with his will, the Pope gratified them so far as to empower his legate in Germany, cardinal Cajetan, a Dominican, eminent for scholastic learning, and passionately devoted to the Roman see, to hear and determine the cause. Book II.

Luther appears before the legate.

Luther, though he had good reason to decline a judge chosen among his avowed adversaries, did not hesitate about appearing before Cajetan, and having obtained the Emperor's safe-conduct, immediately repaired to Augsburg. The Cardinal received him with decent respect, and endeavoured at first to gain upon him by gentle treatment: But thinking it beneath the dignity of his station to enter into any formal dispute with a person of such inferior rank, he required him, by virtue of the apostolic powers with which he was clothed, to retract the errors that he had uttered with regard to Indulgences, and the nature of faith; and to abstain, for the future, from the publication of new and dangerous opinions. Luther, fully persuaded of the truth of his own tenets, and confirmed in the belief of them by the approbation which they had met with among persons conspicuous both for their learning and piety, was surprized at this abrupt mention of a recantation, before any endeavours were used to convince him that

Book II. he was miſtaken. He had flattered himſelf, that in a conference concerning the points in diſpute, with a prelate of ſuch diſtinguiſhed abilities, he would be able to remove many of thoſe imputations with which the ignorance or malice of his antagoniſts had loaded him; but the high tone of authority which the Cardinal aſſumed, extinguiſhed at once all hopes of this kind, and cut off every proſpect of advantage from the interview. His native intrepidity of mind, however, did not deſert him. He declared, with the utmoſt firmneſs, that he could not, with a ſafe conſcience, renounce opinions which he believed to be true; nor ſhould any conſideration ever induce him to do what would be ſo baſe in itſelf, and ſo offenſive to God. At the ſame time, he continued to expreſs no leſs reverence than formerly for the authority of the apoſtolic ſee [o]; he ſignified his willingneſs to ſubmit the whole controverſy to certain univerſities which he named, and promiſed neither to write nor to preach concerning Indulgences for the future, provided his adverſaries were likewiſe enjoined to be ſilent with reſpect to them [p]. All theſe offers Cajetan diſregarded or rejected, and ſtill inſiſted peremptorily on a ſimple recantation, threatening him with eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and forbidding him to appear

His intrepid behaviour.

[o] Luth. Oper. vol. i. p. 164. [p] Ibid. p. 169.

again

again in his presence, unless he resolved instantly to comply with what he had required. This haughty and violent manner of proceeding, as well as other circumstances, gave Luther's friends such strong reasons to suspect, that even the Imperial safe-conduct would not be able to protect him from the legate's power and resentment, that they prevailed on him to withdraw secretly from Augsburg, and to return to his own country. But before his departure, according to a form of which there had been some examples, he prepared a solemn appeal, from the Pope, ill-informed at that time concerning his cause, to the Pope, when he should receive more full information with respect to it [q].

His appeal.

Cajetan, enraged at Luther's abrupt retreat, and at the publication of his appeal, wrote to the Elector of Saxony, complaining of both; and requiring him, as he regarded the peace of the church, or the authority of its head, either to send that seditious monk a prisoner to Rome, or to banish him out of his territories. It was not from theological considerations that Frederick had hitherto countenanced Luther; he seems to have been much a stranger to controversies of that kind, and to have been little

He is supported by the Elector of Saxony.

[q] Sleid. Hist. of Reform. p. 7. Seckend. p. 45. Luth. Oper. i. 163.

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interefted in them. His protection flowed almoft entirely, as hath been already obferved, from political motives, and was afforded with great fecrecy and caution. He had neither heard any of Luther's difcourfes, nor read any of his books; and though all Germany refounded with his fame, he had never once admitted him into his prefence [r]. But upon this demand which the Cardinal made, it became neceffary to throw off fomewhat of his former referve. He had been at great expence, and had beftowed much attention on founding a new univerfity, an object of confiderable importance to every German prince; and forefeeing how fatal a blow the removal of Luther would be to its reputation [s], he, under various pretexts, and with many profeffions of efteem for the Cardinal, as well as of reverence for the Pope, not only declined complying with either of his requefts, but openly difcovered great concern for Luther's fafety [t].

Motives of the legate's conduct.

THE inflexible rigour with which Cajetan infifted on a fimple recantation, gave great offence to Luther's followers in that age, and hath fince been cenfured as imprudent, by feveral Popifh writers. But it was impoffible for the legate to

[r] Seckend. p. 27. Sleid. Hift. p. 12. [s] Seckend. p. 59. [t] Sleid. Hift. p. 10. Luth. Oper. i. 172.

act another part. The judges before whom Luther had been required to appear at Rome, were so eager to display their zeal against his errors, that, without waiting for the expiration of the sixty days allowed him in the citation, they had already condemned him as an heretick [u]. Leo had, in several of his brieves and letters, stigmatized him as a child of iniquity, and a man given up to a reprobate sense. Nothing less, therefore, than a recantation could save the honour of the church, whose maxim it is, never to abandon the smallest point that it has established, and which is even precluded, by its pretensions to infallibility, from having it in its power to do so.

Book II.

Luther's perilous situation.

LUTHER's situation, meanwhile, was such as would have filled any other person with the most disquieting apprehensions. He could not expect that a prince so prudent and cautious as Frederick, would, on his account, set at defiance the thunders of the church, and brave the papal power, which had crushed some of the most powerful of the German Emperors. He knew what veneration was paid, at that time, to ecclesiastical decisions; what terror ecclesiastical censures carried along with them, and how easily these might intimidate and shake a prince, who

[u] Luth. Oper. i. 161.

Book II. was rather his protector from policy, than his difciple from conviction. If he fhould be obliged to quit Saxony, he had no profpect of any other afylum, and muft ftand expofed to whatever punifhment the rage or bigotry of his enemies could inflict. Though fenfible of his danger, he difcovered no fymptoms of timidity or remiffnefs, but continued to vindicate his own conduct and opinions, and to inveigh againft thofe of his adverfaries with more vehemence than ever [x].

He appeals to a general council.

But as every ftep taken by the court of Rome, particularly the irregular fentence by which he had been fo precipitately declared a heretick, convinced Luther that Leo would foon proceed to the moft violent meafures againft him, he had recourfe to the only expedient in his power, in order to prevent the effect of the papal cenfures. He appealed to a general council, which he affirmed to be the reprefentative of the catholick church, and fuperior in power to the Pope, who being a fallible man, might err, as St. Peter, the moft perfect of his predeceffors, had erred [y].

A new bull in favour of Indulgences.

It foon appeared, that Luther had not formed rafh conjectures concerning the intentions of the

[x] Seckend. p. 59. [y] Sleid. Hift. 12. Luth. Oper. i. 179.

Romifh

Romish church. A bull, of a date prior to his appeal, was issued by the Pope, in which he magnifies the virtue and efficacy of Indulgences, in terms as extravagant as any of his predecessors had ventured to use in the darkest ages; and without applying such palliatives, or mentioning such concessions, as the juncture seemed to call for, he required all Christians to assent to what he delivered as the doctrine of the Catholic church, and subjected those who should hold or teach any contrary opinion to the heaviest ecclesiastical censures.

Book II.

Maximilian's death of advantage to Luther.

Among Luther's followers, this bull, which they considered as an unjustifiable effort of the Pope in order to preserve that rich branch of his revenue which arose from Indulgences, produced little effect. But, among the rest of his countrymen, such a clear decision of the sovereign Pontiff against him, and enforced by such dreadful penalties, must have been attended with consequences very fatal to his cause; if these had not been prevented in a great measure by the death of the Emperor Maximilian, whom both his principles and his interest prompted to support the authority of the holy see. In consequence of this event, the vicariat of that part of Germany which is governed by the Saxon laws, devolved to the Elector of Saxony; and

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI

Book II. under the ſhelter of his friendly adminiſtration, Luther not only enjoyed tranquillity, but his opinions were ſuffered, during the inter-regnum which preceded Charles's election, to take root in different places, and to grow up to ſome degree of ſtrength and firmneſs. At the ſame time, as the election of an Emperor was a point more intereſting to Leo than a theological controverſy, which he did not underſtand, and of which he could not foreſee the conſequences, he was ſo extremely ſolicitous not to irritate a Prince of ſuch conſiderable influence in the electoral college as Frederick, that he diſcovered a great unwillingneſs to pronounce the ſentence of excommunication againſt Luther, which his adverſaries continually demanded with the moſt clamorous importunity.

Suſpenſion of proceedings againſt Luther.

To theſe political views of the Pope, as well as to his natural averſion from ſevere meaſures, was owing the ſuſpenſion of any further proceedings againſt Luther for eighteen months. Perpetual negociations, however, in order to bring the matter to ſome amicable iſſue, were carried on during that ſpace. The manner in which theſe were conducted having given Luther many opportunities of obſerving the corruption of the court of Rome; its obſtinacy in adhering to eſtabliſhed errors; and its indifference about

about truth, however clearly propofed, or ftrongly proved, he began to utter fome doubts with regard to the divine original of the papal authority. A public difputation was held upon this important queftion at Leipfick, between Luther and Eccius, one of his moft learned and formidable antagonifts; but it was as fruitlefs and indecifive as fuch fcholaftic combats ufually prove. Both parties boafted of having obtained the victory; both were confirmed in their own opinions; and no progrefs was made towards deciding the point in controverfy [z].

Book II.

He begins to call in queftion the papal authority.

Reformation in Switzerland.

Nor did this fpirit of mutiny againft the doctrines and ufurpations of the Romifh church break out in Saxony alone; an attack no lefs fierce, and occafioned by the fame caufes, was made upon them about this time in Switzerland. The Francifcans being entrufted with the promulgation of Indulgences in that country, executed their commiffion with the fame indifcretion and rapacioufnefs, which had rendered the Dominicans fo odious in Germany. They proceeded, neverthelefs, with uninterrupted fuccefs till they arrived at Zurich. There Zuinglius, a man not inferior to Luther himfelf in zeal and intrepidity, ventured to oppofe them; and being animated with a republican boldnefs, and

[z] Luth. Oper. i. 199.

free

Book II. free from thoſe reſtraints which ſubjection to the will of a Prince impoſed on the German reformer, he advanced with more daring and rapid ſteps to overturn the whole fabric of the eſtabliſhed religion[a]. The appearance of ſuch a vigorous auxiliary, and the progreſs which he made, was, at firſt, matter of great joy to Luther; though, on the other hand, the decrees of the univerſities of Cologne and Louvain, which pronounced his opinions to be erroneous, afforded great cauſe of triumph to his adverſaries.

Luther's boldneſs, and progreſs.

But the undaunted ſpirit of Luther acquired freſh vigour from every inſtance of oppoſition; and puſhing on his inquiries and attacks from one doctrine to another, he began to ſhake the firmeſt foundations on which the wealth or power of the church were eſtabliſhed. Leo came at laſt to be convinced, that all hopes of reclaiming him by forbearance were vain; ſeveral prelates of great wiſdom exclaimed no leſs than Luther's perſonal adverſaries againſt the Pope's unprecedented lenity in permitting an uncorrigible heretic, who during three years had been endeavouring to ſubvert every thing ſacred and venerable, ſtill to remain within the boſom of the church; the dignity of the papal ſee rendered the moſt vigorous proceedings ne-

[a] Sleid. Hiſt. 22. Seckend. 59.

cessary; the new Emperor, it was hoped, would support its authority; nor did it seem probable that the Elector of Saxony would so far forget his usual caution, as to set himself in opposition to their united power. The college of cardinals was often assembled, in order to prepare the sentence with due deliberation, and the ablest canonists were consulted how it might be expressed with unexceptionable formality. At last, on the fifteenth of June, one thousand five hundred and twenty, the bull, so fatal to the church of Rome, was issued. Forty-one propositions, extracted out of Luther's works, are therein condemned as heretical, scandalous, and offensive to pious ears; all persons are forbidden to read his writings, upon pain of excommunication; such as had any of them in their custody, are commanded to commit them to the flames; he himself, if he did not, within sixty days, publickly recant his errors, and burn his books, is pronounced an obstinate heretic; is excommunicated, and delivered unto Satan for the destruction of his flesh; and all secular Princes are required, under pain of incurring the same censure, to seize his person, that he might be punished as his crimes deserved [b].

Book II.

Bull of excommunication published against him.

The publication of this bull in Germany, excited various passions in different places. Luther's

The effect of this in Germany.

[b] Palavic. 27. Luth. Oper. i. 423.

Book II. ther's adverſaries exulted, as if his party and opinions had been cruſhed at once by ſuch a deciſive blow. His followers, whoſe reverence for the papal authority daily diminiſhed, read Leo's anathemas with more indignation than terror. In ſome cities, the people violently obſtructed the promulgation of the bull; in others, the perſons who attempted to publiſh it were inſulted, and the bull itſelf torn in pieces, and trodden under foot [c].

and upon Luther. Nov. 17.

THIS ſentence, which he had for ſome time expected, did not diſconcert or intimidate Luther. After renewing his appeal to the general council, he publiſhed remarks upon the bull of excommunication; and being now perſuaded that Leo had been guilty both of impiety and injuſtice in his proceedings againſt him, he boldly declared the Pope to be that man of ſin, or Anti-chriſt, whoſe appearance is foretold in the New Teſtament; he declaimed againſt his tyranny and uſurpations with greater violence than ever; he exhorted all Chriſtian Princes to ſhake off ſuch an ignominious yoke; and boaſted of his own happineſs in being marked out as the object of eccleſiaſtical indignation, becauſe he had ventured to aſſert the liberty of mankind. Nor did he confine his expreſſions of contempt

[c] Seckend. p. 116.

for

for the papal power to words alone; Leo having, in execution of the bull, appointed Luther's books to be burnt at Rome, he, by way of retaliation, aſſembled all the profeſſors and ſtudents in the univerſity of Wittemberg, and with great pomp, and before a vaſt multitude of ſpectators, caſt the volumes of the canon law, together with the bull of excommunication, into the flames; and his example was imitated in ſeveral cities of Germany. The manner in which he juſtified this action, was ſtill more offenſive than the action itſelf. Having collected from the canon law ſome of the moſt extravagant propoſitions with regard to the plenitude and omnipotence of the Pope's power, and the ſubordination of all ſecular juriſdiction to his authority, he publiſhed theſe with a commentary, pointing out the impiety of ſuch tenets, and their evident tendency to ſubvert all civil government[d].

State of the Reformation when Charles arrived in Germany.

Such was the progreſs which Luther had made, and ſuch the ſtate of his party, when Charles arrived in Germany. No ſecular Prince had hitherto embraced Luther's opinions; no change in the eſtabliſhed forms of worſhip had been introduced; and no encroachments had been made upon the poſſeſſions or juriſdiction of the clergy; neither party had yet proceeded to

[d] Luth. Oper. ii. 316.

Book II. action; and the controversy, though conducted with great heat and passion on both sides, was still carried on with its proper weapons, with theses, disputations, and replies. A deep impression, however, was made upon the minds of the people; their reverence for ancient institutions and doctrines was shaken; and the materials were already scattered which produced the combustion that soon spread over all Germany. Students crowded from every province of the Empire to Wittemberg; and under Luther himself Melancthon, Carlostadius, and other masters, then reckoned eminent, imbibed opinions, which, on their return, they propagated among their countrymen, who listened to them with that fond attention, which truth, when accompanied with novelty, naturally commands[e].

Reflections upon the conduct of the court of Rome.

DURING the course of these transactions, the court of Rome, though under the direction of one of its ablest Pontiffs, neither formed its schemes with that profound sagacity, nor executed them with that steady perseverance, which had long rendered it the most perfect model of political wisdom to the rest of Europe. When Luther began to declaim against Indulgences, two different methods of treating him lay before the Pope; by adopting one of which the attempt,

[e] Seckend. 59.

it is probable, might have been cruſhed, and by the other it might have been rendered innocent. If Luther's firſt departure from the doctrines of the church had inſtantly drawn upon him the weight of its cenſures, the dread of theſe might have reſtrained the Elector of Saxony from protecting him, might have deterred the people from liſtening to his diſcourſes, or even might have overawed Luther himſelf; and his name, like that of many good men before his time, would now have been known to the world only for his honeſt but ill-timed effort to correct the corruptions of the Romiſh church. On the other hand, if the Pope had early teſtified ſome diſpleaſure with the vices and exceſſes of the friars who had been employed in publiſhing Indulgences; if he had forbidden the mentioning of controverted points in diſcourſes addreſſed to the people; if he had enjoined the diſputants on both ſides to be ſilent; if he had been careful not to riſque the credit of the church by defining articles which had hitherto been left undetermined, Luther would, probably, have ſtopt ſhort at his firſt diſcoveries: He would not have been forced in ſelf-defence to venture upon new ground, and the whole controverſy might poſſibly have died away inſenſibly; or being confined entirely to the ſchools, might have been carried on with as little detriment to the peace and unity

of

Book II. of the Romiſh church, as that which the Franciſcans maintain with the Dominicans, concerning the immaculate conception, or that between the Janſeniſts and Jeſuits concerning the operations of grace. But Leo, by fluctuating between theſe oppoſite ſyſtems, and by embracing them alternately, defeated the effects of both. By an improper exertion of authority, Luther was exaſperated, but not reſtrained. By a miſtaken exerciſe of lenity, time was given for his opinions to ſpread, but no progreſs made towards reconciling him to the church; and even the ſentence of excommunication, which at another juncture might have been deciſive, was delayed ſo long, that it became at laſt ſcarcely an object of terror.

and upon the conduct of Luther.

Such a ſeries of errors in the meaſures of a court, ſeldom chargeable with miſtaking its own true intereſt, is not more aſtoniſhing than the wiſdom which appeared in Luther's conduct. Though a perfect ſtranger to the maxims of human prudence, and incapable, from the impetuoſity of his temper, of obſerving them, he was led naturally by the method in which he made his diſcoveries, to carry on his operations in a manner which contributed more to their ſucceſs, than if every ſtep he took had been preſcribed by the moſt artful policy. At the time when

when he ſet himſelf to oppoſe Tetzel, he was far from intending that reformation which he afterwards effected; and would have trembled with horror at the thoughts of what at laſt he gloried in accompliſhing. The knowledge of truth was not poured into his mind, all at once, by any ſpecial revelation; he acquired it by induſtry and meditation, and his progreſs, of conſequence, was gradual. The doctrines of Popery are ſo cloſely connected, that the expoſing of one error conducted him naturally to the detection of others; and all the parts of that artificial fabric were ſo linked together, that the pulling down of one looſened the foundation of the reſt, and rendered it more eaſy to overturn them. In confuting the extravagant tenets concerning Indulgences, he was obliged to inquire into the true cauſe of our juſtification and acceptance with God. The knowledge of that, diſcovered to him by degrees the inutility of pilgrimages and penances; the vanity of relying on the interceſſion of ſaints; the impiety of worſhipping them; the abuſes of auricular confeſſion; and the imaginary exiſtence of purgatory. The detection of ſo many errors, led him of courſe to conſider the character of the clergy who taught them; and their exorbitant wealth, the ſevere injunction of celibacy, together with the intolerable rigour of monaſtic vows, appeared

Book II. to him the great fources of their corruption. From thence, it was but one ftep to call in queftion the divine original of the papal power, which authorized and fupported fuch a fyftem of errors. As the unavoidable refult of the whole, he difclaimed the infallibility of the Pope, the decifions of fchoolmen, or any other human authority, and appealed to the word of God as the only ftandard of theological truth. To this gradual progrefs Luther owed his fuccefs. His hearers were not fhocked at firft by any propofition too repugnant to their ancient prejudices, or too remote from eftablifhed opinions. They were conducted infenfibly from one doctrine to another. Their faith and conviction were able to keep pace with his difcoveries. To the fame caufe was owing the inattention, and even indifference, with which Leo viewed Luther's firft proceedings. A direct or violent attack upon the authority of the church, would at once have drawn upon Luther the whole weight of its vengeance; but as this was far from his thoughts, as he continued long to profefs great refpect for the Pope, and made repeated offers of fubmiffion to his decifions, there feemed to be no reafon for apprehending that he would prove the author of any defperate revolt; and he was fuffered to proceed ftep by ftep, in undermining the conftitution of the church, until the

remedy

remedy applied at laſt came too late to produce any effect. Book II.

An inquiry into the cauſes which contributed to the progreſs of the Reformation.

But whatever advantages Luther's cauſe derived either from the miſtakes of his adverſaries, or from his own good conduct, the ſudden progreſs and firm eſtabliſhment of his doctrines, muſt not be aſcribed to theſe alone. The ſame corruptions in the church of Rome which he condemned, had been attacked long before his appearance, and the ſame opinions which he now propagated, had been publiſhed in different places, and were ſupported by the ſame arguments. Waldus in the twelfth century, Wickliff in the fourteenth, and Huſs in the fifteenth, had inveighed againſt the errors of Popery with great boldneſs, and confuted them with more ingenuity and learning than could have been expected in thoſe illiterate ages in which they flouriſhed. But all theſe premature attempts towards a reformation proved abortive. Such feeble lights, incapable of diſpelling the darkneſs which then covered the church, were ſoon extinguiſhed; and though the doctrines of theſe pious men produced ſome effects, and left ſome traces in the countries where they taught, they were neither extenſive nor conſiderable. Many powerful cauſes contributed to facilitate Luther's progreſs, which either did not exiſt, or

Book II. did not operate with full force in their days; and at the critical and mature juncture when he appeared, circumstances of every kind concurred in rendering each step that he took successful.

The long schism in the fourteenth century.

The long and scandalous schism which divided the church, during the latter part of the fourteenth, and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, had a great effect in diminishing the veneration with which the world had been accustomed to view the papal dignity. Two or three contending Pontiffs roaming about Europe at a time; fawning on the Princes whom they wanted to gain; squeezing the countries which acknowledged their authority; excommunicating their rivals, and cursing those who adhered to them, discredited their pretensions to infallibility, and exposed both their persons and their office to contempt. The laity, to whom all parties appealed, came to learn that some right of private judgment belonged to them, and acquired the exercise of it so far as to chuse, among these infallible guides, whom they would please to follow. The proceedings of the councils of Constance and Basil, spread this disrespect for the Romish see still wider, and by their bold exertion of authority in deposing and electing Popes, taught the world that there was in

in the church a jurifdiction fuperior even to the papal power, which they had long believed to be fupreme.

Book II.

The pontificates of Alexander VI. and of Julius II.

The wound given on that occafion to the papal authority was fcarcely healed up, when the pontificates of Alexander VI. and Julius II. both able princes, but deteftable ecclefiaftics, raifed new fcandal in Chriftendom. The profligate morals of the former in private life; the fraud, the injuftice and cruelty of his publick adminiftration, place him on a level with thofe tyrants, whofe deeds are the greateft reproach to human nature. The latter, though a ftranger to thefe odious paffions which prompted his predeceffor to commit fo many unnatural crimes, was under the dominion of a reftlefs and ungovernable ambition, which fcorned all confiderations of gratitude, of decency, or of juftice, when they obftructed the execution of his fchemes. It was hardly poffible to be firmly perfuaded that the infallible knowledge of a religion, whofe chief precepts are purity and humility, was depofited in the breafts of the impious Alexander, or the overbearing Julius. The opinion of thofe who exalted the authority of a council above that of the Pope, fpread wonderfully under their pontificates: And as the Emperor and French Kings, who were alternately

Book II. nately engaged in hoſtilities with theſe active Pontiffs, permitted and even encouraged their ſubjects to expoſe their vices with all the violence of invective, and all the petulance of ridicule, men's ears being accuſtomed to theſe, were not ſhocked with the bold or ludicrous diſcourſes of Luther and his followers concerning the papal dignity.

The immoral lives of the clergy.

Nor were ſuch exceſſes confined to the head of the church alone. Many of the dignified clergy, ſecular as well as regular, being the younger ſons of noble families, who had aſſumed the eccleſiaſtical character for no other reaſon but that they found in the church ſtations of great dignity and affluence, were accuſtomed totally to neglect the duties of their office, and indulged themſelves without reſerve in all the vices to which great wealth and idleneſs naturally give birth. Though the inferior clergy were prevented by their poverty from imitating the expenſive luxury of their ſuperiors, yet groſs ignorance and low debauchery rendered them as contemptible as the other were odious[f]. The ſevere

[f] The corrupt ſtate of the church prior to the Reformation, is acknowledged by an author, who was both abundantly able to judge concerning this matter, and who was not over-forward to confeſs it. "For ſome years (ſays Bellarmine) before the Lutheran and Calviniſtic hereſies were

Book II.

ſevere and unnatural law of celibacy, to which both were equally ſubject, occaſioned ſuch irregularities, that in ſeveral parts of Europe the concubinage of prieſts was not only permitted, but enjoined. The employing of a remedy ſo contrary to the genius of the Chriſtian religion, is the ſtrongeſt proof that the crimes it was intended to prevent were both numerous and flagrant. Long before the ſixteenth century, many authors of great name and authority give ſuch deſcriptions of the diſſolute morals of the clergy, as ſeem almoſt incredible in the preſent age[g]. The voluptuous lives of eccleſiaſtics occaſioned

were publiſhed, there was not (as contemporary authors teſtify) any ſeverity in eccleſiaſtical judicatories, any diſcipline with regard to morals, any knowlege of ſacred literature, any reverence for divine things, there was not almoſt any religion remaining." Bellarminus Concio. xxviii. Oper. tom. vi. col. 296. edit. Colon. 1617. apud Gerdeſii Hiſt. Evang. Renovati, vol. i. p. 25.

[g] Centum Gravamina Nationiſ. German. in Faſciculo Rer. Expentend. & Fugiendarum, per Ortuinum Gratium, vol. i. 361. See innumerable paſſages to the ſame purpoſe in the appendix, or ſecond volume, publiſhed by Edw. Brown. See alſo Herm. Vonder Hardt, Hiſt. Lit. Reform. pars iii. and the vaſt collections of Walchius in his four volumes of Monumenta medii ævi. Gotting. 1757.

The authors I have quoted enumerate the vices of the clergy. When they ventured upon actions manifeſtly criminal, we may conclude that they would be leſs ſcrupulous with reſpect to the decorum of behaviour. Accordingly their neglect of the decent conduct ſuitable to their pro-

 feſſion,

Book II. occaſioned great ſcandal, not only becauſe their manners were inconſiſtent with their ſacred character; but the laity being accuſtomed to ſee ſeveral of them raiſed from the loweſt ſtations to the greateſt affluence, did not ſhew the ſame indulgence to their exceſſes, as to thoſe of perſons poſſeſſed of hereditary wealth or grandeur; and viewing their condition with more envy, they cenſured their crimes with greater ſeverity. Nothing, therefore, could be more acceptable to Luther's hearers, than the violence with which he exclaimed againſt the immoralities of churchmen, and every perſon in his audience could, from his own obſervation, confirm the truth of his invectives.

feſſion, ſeems to have given great offence. In order to illuſtrate this, I ſhall tranſcribe one paſſage, becauſe it is taken not from any author whoſe profeſſed purpoſe it was to deſcribe the improper conduct of the clergy; and who, from prejudice or artifice, may be ſuppoſed to aggravate the charge againſt them. The Emperor Charles IV. in a letter to the archbiſhop of Mentz, A. D. 1359, exhorting him to reform the diſorders of the clergy, thus expreſſes himſelf: "De Chriſti patrimonio, ludos, haſtiludia & torneamenta exercent; habitum militarem cum prætextis aureis & argenteis geſtant, & calceos militares; comam & barbam nutriunt, & nihil quod ad vitam & ordinem eccleſiaſticum ſpectat, oſtendunt. Militaribus ſe duntaxat & ſecularibus actibus, vita & moribus, in ſuæ ſalutis diſpendium, & generale populi ſcandalum, immiſcent." Codex Diplomaticus Anecdotorum, per Val. Ferd. Gudenum, 4to. vol. iii. p. 438.

THE

The facility with which these immoralities were pardoned.

THE scandal of these crimes was greatly increased by the facility with which such as committed them, obtained pardon. In all the European kingdoms, the impotence of the civil magistrate, under forms of government extremely irregular and turbulent, made it necessary to relax the rigour of justice, and upon payment of a certain fine or composition prescribed by law, judges were accustomed to remit farther punishment, even of the most atrocious crimes. The court of Rome, always attentive to the means of augmenting its revenues, imitated this practice, and by a preposterous accommodation of it to religious concerns, granted its pardons to such transgressors as gave a sum of money in order to purchase them. As the idea of a composition for crimes was then familiar, this strange traffic was so far from shocking mankind, that it soon became general; and in order to prevent any imposition in carrying it on, the officers of the Roman chancery published a book, containing the precise sum to be exacted for the pardon of every particular sin. A deacon guilty of murder was absolved for twenty crowns. A bishop or abbot might assassinate for three hundred livres. Any ecclesiastic might violate his vows of chastity even with the most aggravating circumstances, for the third part of that sum. Even such shocking crimes,

Book II. crimes, as occur feldom in human life, and perhaps exift only in the impure imagination of a cafuift, were taxed at a very moderate rate. When a more regular and perfect mode of difpenfing juftice came to be introduced into civil courts, the practice of paying a compofition for crimes went gradually into difufe; and mankind having acquired more accurate notions concerning religion and morality, the conditions on which the court of Rome beftowed its pardons appeared impious, and were confidered as one great fource of ecclefiaftical corruption [h].

The exorbitant wealth of the church,

THIS degeneracy of manners among the clergy might, perhaps, have been tolerated with greater indulgence, if their exorbitant riches and power had not enabled them, at the fame time, to opprefs all other orders of men. It is the genius of fuperftition, fond of whatever is pompous or grand, to fet no bounds to its liberality towards perfons whom it efteems facred, and to think its expreffions of regard defective unlefs it hath raifed them to the heighth of wealth and authority. Hence flowed the extenfive revenues and jurifdiction poffeffed by the church in every country of Europe, and which were

[h] Fafcicul. Rer. Expet. & Fug. I. 355. J. G. Schelhornii Amænit. Literar. Francof. 1725, vol. ii. 369. Diction. de Bayle, Artic. Banck & Tuppius. Taxa Cancellar. Romanæ, Edit. Francof. 1651. paffim.

become

become intolerable to the laity from whose undiscerning bounty they were at first derived. Book II.

The burden, however, of ecclesiastical oppression had fallen with such peculiar weight on the Germans, as rendered them, though naturally exempt from levity, and tenacious of their ancient customs, more inclinable than any people in Europe to listen to those who called on them to assert their liberty. During the long contests between the Popes and Emperors concerning the right of investiture, and the wars which these occasioned, most of the considerable German ecclesiastics joined the papal faction; and while engaged in rebellion against the head of the Empire, they seized the Imperial revenues, and usurped the Imperial jurisdiction within their own dioceses. Upon the re-establishment of tranquillity, they still retained these usurpations, as if by the length of an unjust possession they had acquired a legal right to them. The Emperors, too feeble to wrest them out of their hands, were obliged to grant the clergy fiefs of these vast territories, and they enjoyed all the immunities and honours which belonged to feudal barons. By means of these, many bishops and abbots in Germany were not only ecclesiastics, but princes, and their character and manners

particularly in Germany,

Book II. manners partook more of the licence, too frequent among the latter, than of the ſanctity which became the former[i].

where the clergy uſurped a great part of the property.

The unſettled ſtate of government in Germany, and the frequent wars to which that country was expoſed, contributed in another manner towards aggrandizing Eccleſiaſtics. The only property, during theſe times of anarchy, which enjoyed ſecurity from the oppreſſion of the great, or the ravages of war, was that which belonged to the church. This was owing, not only to the great reverence for the ſacred character prevalent in thoſe ages, but to a ſuperſtitious dread of the ſentence of excommunication, which the clergy were ready to denounce againſt all who invaded their poſſeſſions. Many obſerving this, made a ſurrender of their lands to eccleſiaſtics, and conſenting to hold them in fee of the church, obtained as its vaſſals a degree of ſafety, which without this device they were unable to procure. By ſuch an increaſe of the number of their vaſſals, the power of eccleſiaſtics received a real and permanent augmentation; and as lands, held in fee by the limited tenures common in thoſe ages, often returned to the perſons on whom the fief depend-

i F. Paul, Hiſtory of Eccleſiaſt. Benefices, p. 107.

ed,

ed, considerable additions were made in this way to the property of the clergy [k]. Book II.

The solicitude of the clergy in providing for the safety of their own persons, was still greater than that which they displayed in securing their possessions; and their efforts to attain it were still more successful. As they were consecrated to the priestly office with much outward solemnity; were distinguished from the rest of mankind by a peculiar garb and manner of life; and arrogated to their order many privileges which do not belong to other Christians, they naturally became the objects of excessive veneration. As a superstitious spirit spread, they were regarded as beings of a superior species to the profane laity, whom it would be impious to try by the same laws, or to subject to the same punishments. This exemption from civil jurisdiction, granted at first to ecclesiastics, as a mark of respect, they soon claimed as a point of right. This valuable immunity of the priesthood is asserted, not only in the decrees of Popes and councils, but was confirmed in the most ample form by many of the greatest Emperors [l]. As long as the clerical character re-

The vast personal immunities of ecclesiastics.

[k] F. Paul, Hist. of Eccles. Benef. p. 66. Boulainvilliers, Etat. de France, tom. i. 169. Lond. 1737.

[l] Goldasti Constitut. Imperial. Francof. 1673. vol. ii. 92, 107.

Book II. mained, the person of an ecclesiastic was sacred; and unless he were degraded from his office, the unhallowed hand of the civil judge durst not touch him. But as the power of degradation was lodged in the spiritual courts, the difficulty and expence of obtaining such a sentence, too often secured absolute impunity to offenders. Many assumed the clerical character for no other reason, than that it might screen them from the punishment which their actions deserved [m]. The German nobles complained loudly, that these anointed malefactors, as they call them [n], seldom suffered capitally, even for the most atrocious crimes; and their independence on the civil magistrate is often mentioned in the remonstrances of the diets, as a privilege equally pernicious to society, and to the morals of the clergy.

Their encroachments on the jurisdiction of the laity.

While the clergy asserted the privileges of their own order with so much zeal, they made continual encroachments upon those of the laity. All causes relative to matrimony, to testaments, to usury, to legitimacy of birth, as well as those which concerned ecclesiastical revenues, were thought to be so connected with religion, that they could be tried only in the spiritual courts.

[m] Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xiii. 532. [n] Centum Gravam. § 31.

Not

Not ſatisfied with this ample juriſdiction, which extended to one half of the ſubjects which give riſe to litigation among men, the clergy, with wonderful induſtry, and by a thouſand inventions, endeavoured to draw all other cauſes into their own courts [o]. As they had engroſſed the whole learning known in the dark ages, the ſpiritual judges were commonly ſo far ſuperior in knowledge and abilities to thoſe employed in the ſecular courts, that the people at firſt favoured any ſtretch that was made to bring their affairs under the cognizance of a judicature, on the deciſions of which they could rely with more perfect confidence. Thus the intereſt of the church, and the inclination of the people, concurring to elude the juriſdiction of the lay-magiſtrate, ſoon reduced it almoſt to nothing [p]. By means of this, vaſt power accrued to eccleſiaſtics, and no inconſiderable addition was made to their revenue by the ſums paid in thoſe ages to ſuch as adminiſtered juſtice.

Book II.

The dreadful effects of ſpiritual cenſures.

The penalty by which the ſpiritual courts enforced their ſentences, added great weight and terror to their juriſdiction. The cenſure of excommunication was inſtituted originally for preſerving the purity of the church; that obſtinate

[o] Giannonè Hiſt. of Naples, book xix. § 3.
[p] Centum Gravam. § 9, 56, 64.

offenders,

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL LIBRARY, TANJORE

Book II. offenders, whofe impious tenets or profane lives were a reproach to Chriftianity, might be cut off from the fociety of the faithful: This, ecclefiaftics did not fcruple to convert into an engine for promoting their own power, and inflicted it on the moft frivolous occafions. Whoever defpifed any of their decifions, even concerning civil matters, immediately incurred this dreadful cenfure, which not only excluded them from all the privileges of a Chriftian, but deprived them of their rights as men and citizens [q]; and the dread of this rendered even the moft fierce and turbulent fpirits obfequious to the authority of the church.

The devices of ecclefiaftics to fecure their ufurpations.

Nor did the clergy neglect the proper methods of preferving the wealth and power which they had acquired with fuch induftry and addrefs. The poffeffions of the church, being confecrated to God, were declared to be unalienable; fo that the funds of a fociety which was daily gaining, and could never lofe, grew to be immenfe. In Germany, it was computed that the ecclefiaftics had got into their hands more than one half of the national property [r]. In other countries, the proportion varied; but the fhare belonging to the church was every where prodigious. Thefe vaft poffeffions were

[q] Centum Gravam. § 34. [r] Centum Gravam. § 28.

not

not ſubject to the burdens impoſed on the lands of the laity. The German clergy were exempted by law from all taxes [s]; and if, on any extraordinary emergence, eccleſiaſtics were pleaſed to grant any aid towards ſupplying the public exigencies, this was conſidered as a free gift flowing from their own generoſity, which the civil magiſtrate had no title to demand, far leſs to exact. In conſequence of this ſtrange ſoleciſm in government, the laity in Germany had the mortification to find themſelves loaded with exceſſive impoſitions, becauſe ſuch as poſſeſſed the greateſt property were freed from any obligation to ſupport, or to defend the ſtate.

The German eccleſiaſtics moſtly foreigners.

Grievous, however, as the exorbitant wealth and numerous privileges of the clerical order were to the other members of the Germanick body, they would have reckoned it ſome mitigation of the evil, if theſe had been poſſeſſed only by eccleſiaſtics reſiding among themſelves, who would have been leſs apt to make an improper uſe of their riches, or to exerciſe their rights with unbecoming rigour. But the biſhops of Rome having early put in a claim, the boldeſt that ever human ambition ſuggeſted, of being ſupreme and infallible heads of the Chriſtian church; they, by their profound policy and

[s] Centum Gravam. § 28. Goldaſti Conſt. Imper. ii. 79, 108. Pfeffel Hiſt. du Droit Publ. 350, 374.

Book II. unwearied perſeverance, by their addreſs in availing themſelves of every circumſtance which occurred, by taking advantage of the ſuperſtition of ſome Princes, of the neceſſities of others, and of the credulity of the people, at length eſtabliſhed their pretenſions, in oppoſition both to the intereſt and common ſenſe of mankind. Germany was the country which theſe eccleſiaſtical ſovereigns governed with moſt abſolute authority. They excommunicated and depoſed ſome of its moſt illuſtrious Emperors, and excited their ſubjects, their miniſters, and even their children, to take arms againſt them. Amidſt theſe conteſts, the Popes continually extended their own immunities, ſpoiling the ſecular Princes gradually of their moſt valuable prerogatives, and the German church felt all the rigour of that oppreſſion which flows from ſubjection to foreign dominion, and foreign exactions.

Nominated by the Pope. THE right of conferring benefices, which the Popes uſurped during that period of confuſion, was an acquiſition of great importance, and exalted the eccleſiaſtical power upon the ruins of the temporal. The Emperors and other princes of Germany had long been in poſſeſſion of this right, which ſerved to increaſe both their authority and their revenue. But by wreſting

it out of their hands, the Popes were enabled to fill the Empire with their own creatures; they accuſtomed a great body of every prince's ſubjects to depend not upon him but upon the Roman ſee; they beſtowed upon ſtrangers the richeſt benefices in every country, and drained their wealth to ſupply the luxury of a foreign court. Even the patience of the moſt ſuperſtitious ages mutinied under ſuch oppreſſion; and ſo loud and frequent were the complaints and murmurs of the Germans, that the Popes, afraid of irritating them too far, conſented, contrary to their uſual practice, to abate ſomewhat of their pretenſions, and to reſt ſatisfied with the right of nomination to ſuch benefices as happened to fall vacant during ſix months in the year, leaving the diſpoſal of the remainder to the princes and other legal patrons[1].

Book II.

The expedients for reſtraining this power of the Popes ineffectual.

But the court of Rome eaſily found expedients for eluding an agreement which put ſuch reſtraints on its power. The practice of reſerving certain benefices in every country to the Pope's immediate nomination, which had been long known, and often complained of, was extended far beyond its ancient bounds. All the benefices poſſeſſed by Cardinals, or any of the

[1] F. Paul, Hiſt. of Eccleſ. Benef. 204. Gold. Conſtit. Imper. i. 408.

Book II. numerous officers in the Roman court; those held by persons who happened to die at Rome, or within forty miles of that city on their journey to or from it; those which became vacant by translation, with many others, were included in the number of *reserved* benefices; and Julius II. and Leo, stretching the matter to the utmost, often collated to benefices where the right of reservation had not been declared, on pretence of having mentally reserved this privilege to themselves. The right of reservation, however, even with this extension, had certain limits, as it could be exercised only where the benefice was actually vacant; and therefore, in order to render the exertion of papal power unbounded, *expectative graces*, or mandates nominating a person to succeed to a benefice upon the first vacancy that should happen, were brought into use. By means of these, Germany was filled with persons depending on the court of Rome, from which they received these reversionary grants; princes were defrauded, in a great degree, of their prerogatives, and the rights of lay-patrons were pre-occupied, and rendered almost entirely vain [u].

[u] Centum Gravam. § 21. Fascic. Rer. Expet &c. 334. Gold. Const. Imper. i. 391, 404, 405. F. Paul, Hist. of Eccl. Benef. 167, 199.

THE

Venality of the court of Rome.

The manner in which these extraordinary powers were exercised, rendered them still more odious and intolerable. The avarice and extortion of the court of Rome, were become excessive almost to a proverb. The sale of benefices was so notorious, that no pains were taken to conceal, or to disguise it. Companies of merchants openly purchased the benefices of different districts in Germany from the Pope's ministers, and retailed them at an advanced price[x]. Pious men beheld with deep regret these simoniacal transactions, so unworthy the ministers of a christian church; while politicians complained of the loss sustained by the exportation of so much wealth in that irreligious traffic.

It drained other countries of their wealth.

The sums, indeed, which the court of Rome drew by its stated and legal impositions from all the countries that ackowledged its authority, were so considerable, that it is not strange that Princes, as well as their subjects, murmured at the smallest addition made to them by unnecessary or illicit means. Every ecclesiastical person, upon his admission to his benefice, paid *annats*, or one year's rent of his living, to the Pope; and as that tax was exacted with great rigour, its amount was prodigious. To this must be added, the frequent demands made by the Popes

[x] Fascic. Rer. Expet. i. 359.

Book II. of free-gifts from the clergy, together with the extraordinary levies of tenths upon ecclefiaftical benefices, on pretence of expeditions againft the Turks, feldom intended, or carried into execution; and from the whole, the vaft proportion of the revenues of the church, which flowed continually to Rome, may be eftimated.

The united effect of all thefe caufes.

Such were the diffolute manners, the exorbitant wealth, the vaft power and privileges of the clergy before the Reformation; fuch the oppreffive rigour of that dominion which the Popes had eftablifhed over the chriftian world; and fuch the fentiments concerning them that prevailed in Germany at the beginning of the fixteenth century. Nor has this fketch been copied from the controverfial writers of that age, who, in the heat of difputation, may be fufpected of having exaggerated the errors, or of having mifreprefented the conduct of that church which they laboured to overturn; it is formed upon more authentic evidence, upon the memorials and remonftrances of the Imperial diets, coolly enumerating the grievances under which the Empire groaned, in order to obtain the redrefs of them. Diffatisfaction muft have rifen to a great height among the people, when thefe grave affemblies expreffed themfelves with fuch acrimony; and if they demanded the abolition of thefe enormities with fo much vehemence, the people, we may be affured,

assured, uttered their sentiments and desires in bolder and more virulent language.

Men prepared to embrace Luther's opinions,

To men thus prepared for shaking off the yoke, Luther addressed himself with certainty of success. As they had long felt its weight, and born it with impatience, they listened with joy to the first proposal for procuring deliverance. Hence proceeded the fond and eager reception that his doctrines met with, and the rapidity with which they spread over all the provinces of Germany. Even the impetuosity and fierceness of Luther's spirit, his confidence in asserting his own opinions, and the arrogance and contempt wherewith he treated all who differed from him, which, in ages of greater moderation and refinement, have been reckoned defects in the character of that reformer, did not appear excessive to his contemporaries, whose minds were strongly agitated by those interesting controversies which he carried on, and who had themselves endured the rigour of papal tyranny, and seen the corruptions in the church against which he exclaimed.

and to tolerate his defects.

Nor were they offended at that gross scurrility with which his polemical writings are filled, or at the low buffoonery which he sometimes introduces into his gravest discourses. No dispute was managed in those rude times without a large portion of the former; and the lat-

Book II. ter was common, even on the most solemn occasions, and in treating the most sacred subjects. So far were either of them from doing hurt to his cause, that invective and ridicule had some effect, as well as more laudable arguments, in exposing the errors of popery, and in determining mankind to abandon them.

The effect of the invention of printing on the progress of the Reformation:

Besides all these causes of Luther's rapid progress, arising from the nature of his enterprize, and the juncture at which he undertook it, he reaped advantage from some foreign and adventitious circumstances, the beneficial influence of which none of his forerunners in the same course had enjoyed. Among these may be reckoned the invention of the art of of printing, about half a century before his time. By this fortunate discovery, the facility of acquiring and of propagating knowledge was wonderfully increased, and Luther's books, which must otherwise have made their way slowly and with uncertainty into distant countries, spread at once all over Europe. Nor were they read only by the rich and the learned, who alone had access to books before that invention; they got into the hands of the people who, upon this appeal to them as judges, ventured to examine and to reject many doctrines, which they had formerly been required to believe, without being taught to understand them.

THE

And of the revival of learning.

The revival of learning at the ſame period, was a circumſtance extremely friendly to the Reformation. The ſtudy of the ancient Greek and Roman authors, and the diſcovery of that liberal and ſound knowledge which they contain, rouzed the human mind from the profound lethargy in which it had been ſunk during ſeveral centuries. Mankind ſeem, at that period, to have recovered the powers of inquiring and of thinking, faculties of which they had long loſt the uſe; and fond of the acquiſition, they exerciſed them with great boldneſs upon all ſubjects. They were not now afraid of entering an uncommon path, or of embracing a new opinion. Novelty appears rather to have been a recommendation of a doctrine; and inſtead of being ſtartled when the daring hand of Luther drew aſide, or tore the veil which covered eſtabliſhed errors, the genius of the age applauded and aided the attempt. Luther, though a ſtranger to elegance in taſte or compoſition, zealouſly promoted the cultivation of ancient literature; and ſenſible of its being neceſſary in ſtudying the ſcriptures, he himſelf had acquired conſiderable knowledge both in the Hebrew and Greek tongues. Melancthon, and ſome other of his diſciples, were eminent proficients in the polite arts; and as the ſame barbarous monks who oppoſed the introduction of learning into Germany,

Book II. Germany, ſet themſelves with equal fierceneſs againſt Luther's opinions, and declared the good reception of the latter to be the effect of the progreſs which the former had made, the cauſe of learning and of the Reformation came to be conſidered as cloſely connected, and, in every country, had the ſame friends and the ſame enemies. This enabled the reformers to carry on the conteſt at firſt with great ſuperiority. Erudition, induſtry, accuracy of ſentiment, purity of compoſition, even wit and raillery, were wholly on their ſide, and triumphed with eaſe over illiterate monks, whoſe rude arguments, expreſſed in a perplexed and barbarous ſtile, were found inſufficient for the defence of a ſyſtem, the errors of which, all the art and ingenuity of its later and more learned advocates have not been able to palliate.

That bold ſpirit of enquiry, which the revival of learning excited in Europe, was ſo favourable to the Reformation, that Luther was aided in his progreſs, and mankind were prepared to embrace his doctrines, by perſons who did not wiſh ſucceſs to his undertaking. The greater part of the ingenious men who applied to the ſtudy of ancient literature, towards the cloſe of the fifteenth century, and the beginning of the ſixteenth, though they had no intention, and

perhaps

perhaps no wiſh, to overturn the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of religion, had diſcovered the abſurdity of many tenets and practices authorized by the church, and perceived the futility of thoſe arguments, by which illiterate monks endeavoured to defend them. Their contempt of theſe advocates for the received errors, led them frequently to expoſe the opinions which they ſupported, and to ridicule their ignorance with the utmoſt freedom and ſeverity. By this, men were prepared for the more ſerious attacks made upon them by Luther, and their reverence both for the doctrines and perſons againſt whom he inveighed, was conſiderably abated. This was particularly the caſe in Germany. When the firſt attempts were made to revive a taſte for ancient learning in that country, the Eccleſiaſtics there, who were ſtill more ignorant than their brethren on the other ſide of the Alps, ſet themſelves to oppoſe its progreſs with more active zeal; and the patrons of the new ſtudies, in return, attacked them with greater violence. In the writings of Reüchlin, Hutten, and the other revivers of learning in Germany, the corruptions of the church of Rome are cenſured with an acrimony of ſtyle, little inferior to that of Luther himſelf[y].

Book II.

[y] Gerdeſius Hiſt. Evang. Renov. vol. i. p. 141. 157. Seckend. lib i. p. 103. Vonder Hardt. Hiſt. Literar. Reform. pars ii.

FROM

Book II.

From the ſame cauſe proceeded the frequent ſtrictures of Eraſmus upon the errors of the church, as well as upon the ignorance and vices of the clergy. His reputation and authority were ſo high in Europe at the beginning of the ſixteenth century, and his works were read with ſuch univerſal admiration, that the effect of theſe deſerves to be mentioned as one of the circumſtances which contributed moſt conſiderably towards Luther's ſucceſs. Eraſmus, having been deſtined for the church, and trained up in the knowledge of Eccleſiaſtical literature, applied himſelf more to theological inquiries than any of the revivers of learning in that age. His acute judgment and vaſt erudition enabled him to diſcover many errors, both in the doctrine and worſhip of the Romiſh church. Some of theſe he confuted with great ſolidity of reaſoning, and force of eloquence. Others he treated as objects of ridicule, and turned againſt them that irreſiſtible torrent of popular and ſatirical wit, of which he had the command. There was ſcarcely any opinion or practice of the Romiſh church which Luther endeavoured to reform, but what had been previouſly animadverted upon by Eraſmus, and had afforded him ſubject either of cenſure or of raillery. When Luther firſt began his attack upon the church, Eraſmus ſeemed to applaud his conduct; he courted the friendſhip of ſeveral of his diſciples and patrons, and condemned

demned the behaviour and ſpirit of his adverſaries[z]. He concurred openly with him in inveighing againſt the ſchool-divines, as the teachers of a ſyſtem equally unedifying and obſcure. He joined him in endeavouring to turn the attention of men to the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures, as the only ſtandard of religious truth[a]. Book II.

Various circumſtances, however, prevented Eraſmus from holding the ſame courſe with Luther. The natural timidity of his temper; his want of that force of mind which alone can prompt a man to aſſume the character of a reformer[b]; his exceſſive deference for perſons in high ſtation; his dread of loſing the penſions and other emoluments which their liberality had conferred upon him; his extreme love of peace, and hopes of reforming abuſes gradually,

[z] Seckend. lib. i. p. 40. 96.

[a] Vonder Hardt. Hiſtor. Literar. Reform. pars i. Gerdeſ. Hiſt. Evang. Renov. i. 147.

[b] Eraſmus himſelf is candid enough to acknowledge this: "Luther," ſays he, "has given us many a wholeſome doctrine, and many a good counſel. I wiſh he had not defeated the effect of them by intolerable faults. But if he had written every thing in the moſt unexceptionable manner, I had no inclination to die for the ſake of truth. Every man hath not the courage requiſite to make a martyr; and I am afraid, that if I were put to the trial, I ſhould imitate St. Peter." Epiſt. Eraſmi in Jortin's Life of Eraſm. vol. i. p. 273.

and by gentle methods; all concurred in determining him not only to repress and to moderate the zeal, with which he had once been animated against the errors of the church [c]; but to assume the character of a mediator between Luther and his opponents. But though Erasmus soon began to censure Luther as too daring and impetuous, and was at last prevailed upon to write against him, he must, nevertheless, be considered as his forerunner and auxiliary in this war upon the church. He first scattered the seeds, which Luther cherished and brought to maturity. His raillery and oblique censures, prepared the way for Luther's invectives and more direct attacks. In this light Erasmus appeared to the zealous defenders of the Romish church in his own times [d]. In this light he must be considered by every person conversant in the history of that period.

In this long enumeration of the circumstances which combined in favouring the progress of Luther's opinions, or in weakening the resistance of his adversaries, I have avoided entering into any discussion of the theological doctrines of popery, and have not attempted to shew how repugnant they are to the spirit of Christianity,

[c] Jortin's Life of Erasmus, vol i. p. 258.

[d] Vonder Hardt. Hist. Literar. Reform. pars i. p. 2.

and

and how destitute of any foundation in reason, in the word of God, or in the practice of the primitive church, leaving these topics entirely to ecclesiastical historians, to whose province they peculiarly belong. But when we add the effect of these religious considerations to the influence of political causes, it is obvious that the united operation of both on the human mind, must have been sudden and irresistible. Though, to Luther's contemporaries, who were too near perhaps to the scene, or too deeply interested in it, to trace causes with accuracy, or to examine them with coolness, the rapidity with which his opinions spread, appeared to be so unaccountable, that some of them imputed it to a certain uncommon and malignant position of the stars, which scattered the spirit of giddiness and innovation over the world [e], it is evident, that the success of the Reformation was the natural effect of many powerful causes prepared by peculiar providence, and happily conspiring to that end. This attempt to investigate these causes, and to throw light on an event so singular and important, will not, perhaps, be deemed an unnecessary digression.——I return from it to the course of the history.

Proceedings of the Diet at Worms.

The Diet at Worms conducted its deliberations with that slow formality peculiar to such assemblies.

[e] Jovii Historia, Lut. 1553. fol. p. 134.

Book II. aſſemblies. Much time was ſpent in eſtabliſhing ſome regulations with regard to the internal police of the Empire. The juriſdiction of the Imperial chamber was confirmed, and the forms of its proceeding rendered more fixed and regular. A council of regency was appointed to aſſiſt Ferdinand in the government of the Empire during his brother's abſence; which, from the extent of the Emperor's dominions, as well as the multiplicity of his affairs, was an event that might be frequently expected [f]. The ſtate of religion was then taken into conſideration. There were not wanting ſome plauſible reaſons which might have induced Charles to have declared himſelf the protector of Luther's cauſe, or at leaſt to have connived at its progreſs. If he had poſſeſſed no other dominions but thoſe which belonged to him in Germany, and no other crown beſides the Imperial, he might have been diſpoſed perhaps to favour a man, who aſſerted ſo boldly the privileges and immunities for which the Empire had ſtruggled ſo long with the Popes. But the vaſt and dangerous ſchemes which Francis I. was forming againſt Charles, made it neceſſary for him to regulate his conduct by views more extenſive than thoſe which would have ſuited a German

The Emperor's views with regard to Luther.

[f] Pont. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. Lib. viii. c. 11. p. 195. Pfeffel Abregé Chronol. p. 598.

prince;

prince; and it being of the utmoſt importance Book II.
to ſecure the Pope's friendſhip, this determined him to treat Luther with great ſeverity, as the moſt effectual method of ſoothing Leo into a concurrence with his meaſures. His eagerneſs to accompliſh this, rendered him not unwilling to gratify the papal legates in Germany, who inſiſted that, without any delay or formal deliberation, the diet ought to condemn a man whom the Pope had already excommunicated as an incorrigible heretick. Such an abrupt manner of proceeding, however, being deemed unprecedented and unjuſt by the members of the diet, they made a point of Luther's appearing in perſon, and declaring whether he adhered or not to thoſe opinions, which had drawn upon him the cenſures of the church[g]. Not only the Emperor, but all the princes through whoſe territories he had to paſs, granted him a ſafe-conduct; and Charles wrote to him at the ſame time, requiring his immediate attendance on the diet, and renewing his promiſes of protection from any injury or violence[h]. Luther did not heſitate one moment about yielding obedience, and ſet out for Worms, attended by the herald who had brought the Emperor's letter and ſafe-conduct. While on his journey, many of his friends, whom the fate of Huſs, under ſimilar

He is ſummoned to appear.

March 6.

[g] P. Mart. Ep. 722.

[h] Luth. Oper. ii. 411.

 circum-

Book II. circumſtances, and notwithſtanding the ſame ſecurity of an Imperial ſafe-conduct, filled with ſolicitude, adviſed and intreated him not to ruſh wantonly into the midſt of danger. But Luther, ſuperior to ſuch terrors, ſilenced them with this reply, "I am lawfully called," ſaid he, "to appear in that city, and thither will I go in the name of the Lord, though as many devils as there are tiles on the houſes, were there combined againſt me [i]."

His undaunted ſpirit.

His reception at Worms.

The reception which he met with at Worms, was ſuch as he might have reckoned a full reward of all his labours, if vanity and the love of applauſe had been the principles by which he was influenced. Greater crowds aſſembled to behold him, than had appeared at the Emperor's publick entry; his apartments were daily filled with princes and perſonages of the higheſt rank [k], and he was treated with all the reſpect paid to thoſe who poſſeſs the power of directing the underſtanding and ſentiments of other men; an homage, more ſincere, as well as more flattering, than any which pre-eminence in birth or condition can command. At his appearance before the diet, he behaved with great decency, and with equal firmneſs. He readily acknow-

The manner of his appearance.

i Luth. Oper. ii. 412.

k Seckend. 156. Luth. Oper. ii. 414.

ledged an excefs of vehemence and acrimony in his controverfial writings, but refufed to retract his opinions unlefs he were convinced of their falfehood; or to confent to their being tried by any other rule than the word of God. When neither threats nor entreaties could prevail on him to depart from this refolution, fome of the ecclefiaftics propofed to imitate the example of the council of Conftance, and by punifhing the author of this peftilent herefy, who was now in their power, to deliver the church at once from fuch an evil. But the members of the diet refufing to expofe the German integrity to frefh reproach by a fecond violation of publick faith; and Charles being no lefs unwilling to bring a ftain upon the beginning of his adminiftration by fuch an ignominious action, Luther was permitted to depart in fafety[l]. A few days after he left the city, a fevere edict was publifhed in the Emperor's name, and by authority of the diet, depriving him, as an obftinate and excommunicated criminal, of all the privileges which he enjoyed as a fubject of the Empire, forbidding any prince to harbour or protect him, and requiring all to concur in feizing his perfon as foon as the term fpecified in his fafe-conduct was expired[m].

Book II. April 26. Edict againft him.

[l] F. Paul, Hift. of Counc. p. 13. Seckend. 160.

[m] Gold. Conft. Imperial. ii. 408.

Book II.

He is seized, and concealed at Wartburg.

But this rigorous decree had no considerable effect, the execution of it being prevented partly by the multiplicity of occupations which the commotions in Spain, together with the wars in Italy and the Low Countries, created to the Emperor; and partly by a prudent precaution employed by the Elector of Saxony, Luther's faithful patron. As Luther, on his return from Worms, was passing near Altenstein in Thuringia, a number of horsemen in masks rushed suddenly out of a wood, where the Elector had appointed them to lie in wait for him, and surrounding his company, carried him, after dismissing all his attendants, to Wartburg, a strong castle not far distant. There the Elector ordered him to be supplied with every thing necessary or agreeable, but the place of his retreat was carefully concealed, until, upon a change in the political situation of Europe, the fury of the present storm against him began to abate. In this solitude, where he remained nine months, and which he frequently called his Patmos, after the name of that island to which the apostle John was banished, he exerted his usual vigour and industry in defence of his doctrines, or in confutation of his adversaries, publishing several treatises, which revived the spirit of his followers, astonished to a great degree,

degree, and disheartened at the sudden disappearance of their leader.

Progress of his opinions.

During his confinement, his opinions continued to gain ground, acquiring the ascendant in almost every city of Saxony. At this time, the Augustinians of Wittemberg, with the approbation of the university, and the connivance of the Elector, ventured upon the first step towards an alteration in the established forms of publick worship, by abolishing the celebration of private masses, and by giving the cup as well as the bread to the laity in administering the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

Decree of the university of Paris condemning them.

Whatever consolation the courage and success of his disciples, or the progress of his doctrines in his own country, afforded Luther in his retreat, he there received information of two events, which considerably damped his joy, as they seemed to lay insuperable obstacles in the way of propagating his principles in the two most powerful kingdoms of Europe. One was, a solemn decree, condemning his opinions, published by the university of Paris, the most ancient, and at that time the most respectable of the learned societies in Europe. The other was, the answer written to his book concerning the Babylonish captivity by Henry VIII. of England.

Henry VIII. writes against them.

Book II. England. That young monarch, having been educated under the eye of a fuſpicious father, who, in order to prevent his attending to buſineſs, kept him occupied in the ſtudy of literature, ſtill retained a greater love of learning, and ſtronger habits of application to it, than are common among Princes of ſo active a diſpoſition, and ſuch violent paſſions. Being ambitious of acquiring glory of every kind, as well as zealouſly attached to the Romiſh church, and highly exaſperated againſt Luther, who had treated Thomas Aquinas, his favourite author, with great contempt, Henry did not think it enough to exert his royal authority in oppoſing the opinions of the reformer, but reſolved likewiſe to combat them with ſcholaſtic weapons. With this view he publiſhed his treatiſe on the Seven Sacraments, which, though forgotten at preſent, as books of controverſy always are, when the occaſion that produced them is paſt, is not deſtitute of polemical ingenuity and acuteneſs, and was repreſented by the flattery of his courtiers to be a work of ſuch wonderful ſcience and learning, as exalted him no leſs above other authors in merit, than he was diſtinguiſhed among them by his rank. The Pope, to whom it was preſented with the greateſt formality in full conſiſtory, ſpoke of it in ſuch terms, as if it had been dictated by immediate inſpiration; and

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and as a teſtimony of the gratitude of the church for his extraordinary zeal, conferred on him the title of *Defender of the Faith*, an appellation which Henry ſoon forfeited in the opinion of thoſe from whom he derived it, and which is ſtill retained by his ſucceſſors, though the avowed enemies of thoſe opinions, by contending for which he merited that honourable diſtinction. Luther, who was not overawed either by the authority of the Univerſity, or the dignity of the Monarch, ſoon publiſhed his animadverſions on both in a ſtile no leſs vehement and ſevere, than he would have uſed in confuting his meaneſt antagoniſt. This indecent boldneſs, inſtead of ſhocking his contemporaries, was conſidered by them as a new proof of his undaunted ſpirit. A controverſy managed by diſputants ſo illuſtrious, drew more general attention; and ſuch was the contagion of the ſpirit of innovation, diffuſed through Europe in that age, and ſo powerful the evidence which accompanied the doctrines of the reformers on their firſt publication, that, in ſpite both of the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers combined againſt them, they daily gained converts both in France and in England.

Luther's reply to both.

How deſirous ſoever the Emperor might be to put a ſtop to Luther's progreſs, he was often obliged,

State of affairs between Charles and Francis.

Book II. obliged, during the diet at Worms, to turn his thoughts to matters ſtill more intereſting, and which demanded more immediate attention. A war was ready to break out between him and Francis in Navarre, in the Low-Countries, and in Italy; and it required either great addreſs to avert the danger, or timely and wiſe precautions to reſiſt it. Every circumſtance, at that juncture, inclined Charles to prefer the former meaſure. Spain was torn with inteſtine commotions. In Italy, he had not hitherto ſecured the aſſiſtance of any one ally. In the Low-Countries, his ſubjects trembled at the thoughts of a rupture with France, the fatal effects of which on their commerce they had often experienced. From theſe conſiderations, as well as from the ſolicitude of Chievres, during his whole adminiſtration, to maintain peace between the two monarchs, proceeded the Emperor's backwardneſs to commence hoſtilities. But Francis and his miniſters did not breathe the ſame pacific ſpirit. He eaſily foreſaw that concord could not long ſubſiſt, where intereſt, emulation, and ambition conſpired to diſſolve it; and he poſſeſſed ſeveral advantages which flattered him with the hopes of ſurpriſing his rival, and of overpowering him before he could put himſelf in a poſture of defence. The French King's dominions, from their compact ſituation,

from

from their ſubjection to the royal authority, from the genius of the people, fond of war, and attached to their ſovereign by every tie of duty and affection, were more capable of a great or ſudden effort, than the larger but diſunited territories of the Emperor, in one part of which the people were in arms againſt his miniſters, and in all his prerogative was more limited than that of his rival.

Henry VIII. favours the Emperor.

The only princes, in whoſe power it was to have kept down, or to have extinguiſhed this flame on its firſt appearance, either neglected to exert themſelves, or were active in kindling and ſpreading it. Henry VIII. though he affected to aſſume the name of mediator, and both parties made frequent appeals to him, had laid aſide the impartiality which ſuited that character. Wolſey, by his artifices, had eſtranged him ſo entirely from the French King, that he ſecretly fomented the diſcord which he ought to have compoſed, and waited only for ſome decent pretext to join his arms to the Emperor's [n].

Leo heſitates between the rivals.

Leo's endeavours to excite diſcord between the Emperor and Francis were more avowed, and had greater influence. Not only his duty, as the common father of Chriſtendom, but his

[n] Herbert. Fiddes's Life of Wolſey, 258.

intereſt

Book II. intereft as an Italian potentate, called upon the Pope to act as the guardian of the public tranquillity, and to avoid any meafure that might overturn the fyftem, which after much bloodfhed, and many negociations, was now eftablifhed in Italy. Accordingly Leo, who inftantly difcerned the propriety of this conduct, had formed a fcheme upon Charles's promotion to the Imperial dignity, of rendering himfelf the umpire between the rivals, by foothing them alternately, while he entered into no clofe confederacy with either; and a Pontiff lefs ambitious and enterprizing, might have faved Europe from many calamities by adhering to this plan. But this high-fpirited prelate, who was ftill in the prime of life, longed paffionately to diftinguifh his pontificate by fome fplendid action. He was impatient to wafh away the infamy of having loft Parma and Placentia, the acquifition of which reflected fo much luftre on the adminiftration of his predeceffor Julius. He beheld, with the indignation natural to Italians in that age, the dominion which the Tranfalpine, or as they, in imitation of the Roman arrogance, denominated them, the barbarous nations, had attained in Italy. He flattered himfelf, that after affifting the one monarch to ftrip the other of his poffeffions in that country, he might find means of driving out the victor in his

his turn, and acquire the glory of restoring Italy to the liberty and happiness which it enjoyed before the invasion of Charles VIII. when every state was governed by its native princes, or its own laws, and unacquainted with a foreign yoke. Extravagant and chimerical as this project may seem, it was the favourite object of almost every Italian eminent for genius or enterprize during great part of the sixteenth century. They vainly hoped, that by superior skill in the artifices and refinements of negociation, they should be able to baffle the efforts of nations, ruder indeed than themselves, but much more powerful and warlike. So alluring was the prospect of this to Leo, that notwithstanding the gentleness of his disposition, and his fondness for the pleasures of a refined and luxurious ease, he hastened to disturb the peace of Europe, and to plunge himself in a dangerous war, with an impetuosity scarcely inferior to that of the turbulent and martial Julius [o].

Book II.

It was in Leo's power, however, to chuse which of the monarchs he would take for his confederate against the other. Both of them courted his friendship; he wavered for some time between them, and at first concluded an alliance with Francis. The object of this treaty

[o] Guic. lib. xiv. p. 173.

was

Book II. was the conquest of Naples, which the confederates agreed to divide between them. The Pope, it is probable, flattered himself, that the brisk and active spirit of Francis, seconded by the same qualities in his subjects, would get the start of the slow and wary councils of the Emperor, and that they might over-run with ease this detached portion of his dominions, ill provided for defence, and always the prey of every invader. But whether the French King, by discovering too openly his suspicions of Leo's sincerity, disappointed these hopes; whether the treaty was only an artifice of the Pope's, to cover the more serious negociations which he was carrying on with Charles; whether he was enticed by the prospect of reaping greater advantages from an union with that prince; or whether he was soothed by the zeal which Charles had manifested for the honour of the church in condemning Luther; certain it is, that he soon deserted his new ally, and made overtures of friendship, though with great secrecy, to the Emperor[p]. Don John Manuel, the same man who had been the favourite of Philip, and whose address had disconcerted all Ferdinand's schemes, having been delivered, upon the death of that monarch, from the prison to which he had been confined, was now the Imperial ambassador at

Concludes a treaty with Charles.

[p] Guic. lib. xiv. p. 175. Mem. de Bellay, Par. 1573. p. 24.

Rome,

Rome, and fully capable of improving this favourable diſpoſition in the Pope to his maſter's advantage [q]. To him the conduct of this negociation was entirely committed; and being carefully concealed from Chievres, whoſe averſion from a war with France would have prompted him to retard or defeat it, an alliance between the Pope and Emperor was quickly concluded [r]. The chief articles in this treaty, which proved the foundation of Charles's grandeur in Italy, were, that the Pope and Emperor ſhould join their forces to expel the French out of the Milaneſe, the poſſeſſion of which ſhould be granted to Francis Sforza, a ſon of Ludovico the Moor, and who had reſided at Trent ſince the time his brother Maximilian had been diſpoſſeſſed of his dominions by the French King; that Parma and Placentia ſhould be reſtored to the church; that the Emperor ſhould aſſiſt the Pope in conquering Ferrara; that the annual tribute paid by the kingdom of Naples to the Holy See ſhould be increaſed; that the Emperor ſhould take the family of Medici under his protection; that he ſhould grant to the Cardinal of that name a penſion of ten thouſand ducats upon the archbiſhoprick of Toledo; and ſettle lands in

Book II. May 8.

[q] Jovii Vita Leonis, lib. iv. p. 89. [r] Guic. l. xiv. 181. Mem. de Bellay, p. 24. Du Mont Corps Diplom. tom. iv. ſuppl. p. 96.

Book II. in the kingdom of Naples to the same value upon Alexander the natural son of Lorenzo de Medici.

Death of Chievres, the Emperor's favourite and minister.

The transacting an affair of such moment without his participation, appeared to Chievres so decisive a proof of his having lost the ascendant which he had hitherto maintained over the mind of his pupil, that his chagrin on this account, added to the melancholy with which he was overwhelmed on taking a view of the many and unavoidable calamities attending a war against France, is said to have shortened his days[s]. But though this, perhaps, may be only the conjecture of historians, fond of attributing every thing that befals illustrious personages to extraordinary causes, and of ascribing even their diseases and death to the effect of political passions, which oftener disturb the enjoyment than they abridge the period of life, it is certain that his death at this critical juncture extinguished all hopes of avoiding a rupture with France[t]. This event, too, delivered Charles from a minister, to whose authority he had been accustomed from his infancy to submit with such implicit deference, as checked and depressed his genius, and retained him in a state of pupillage, unbe-

[s] Belcarii Comment. de reb. Gallic. 483.
[t] P. Heuter. Rer. Austriac lib. viii. c. 11. p. 197.

coming

coming his years as well as his rank; but this restraint being removed, the native powers of his mind were permitted to unfold themselves, and he began to display such great talents, both in council and in execution, as exceeded the hopes of his contemporaries [u], and command the admiration of posterity.

Commencement of hostilities in Navarre.

While the Pope and Emperor were preparing, in consequence of their secret alliance, to attack Milan, hostilities commenced in another quarter. The children of John d'Albret, King of Navarre, having often demanded the restitution of their hereditary dominions, in terms of the treaty of Noyon, and Charles having as often eluded their requests upon very frivolous pretexts, Francis thought himself authorized by that treaty to assist the exiled family. The juncture appeared extremely favourable for such an enterprize. Charles was at a distance from that part of his dominions; the troops usually stationed there, had been called away to quell the commotions in Spain; the Spanish malecontents warmly solicited him to invade Navarre [x], in which a considerable faction was ready to declare for the descendants of their ancient monarchs. But in order to avoid, as much as possible, giving offence to the Emperor, or

[u] P. Mart. Ep. 735. [x] P. Mart. Ep. 721.

King

Book II. King of England, Francis directed forces to be levied, and the war to be carried on, not in his own name, but in that of Henry d'Albret. The conduct of these troops was committed to Andrew de Foix, de l'Esparre, a young nobleman, whom his near alliance to the unfortunate King whose battles he was to fight, and what was still more powerful, the interest of his sister, madame de Chateaubriand, Francis's favourite mistress, recommended to that important trust, for which he had neither talents nor experience. But as there was no army in the field to oppose him, he became master, in a few days, of the whole kingdom of Navarre, without meeting with any obstruction but from the citadel of Pampeluna. The additional works to this fortress, begun by Ximenes, were still unfinished; nor would its slight resistance have deserved notice, if Ignatio Loyola, a Biscayan gentleman, had not been dangerously wounded in its defence. During the progress of a lingering cure, Loyola happened to have no other amusement than what he found on reading the lives of the saints: The effect of this on his mind, naturally enthusiastic, but ambitious and daring, was to inspire him with such a desire of emulating the glory of these fabulous worthies of the Romish church, as led him into the wildest and most extravagant adventures, that terminated at last in instituting the society of Jesuits, the most political and best

Progress of the French.

best regulated of all the monastic orders, and from which mankind have derived more advantages, and received greater hurt, than from any other of these religious fraternities.

Book II.

They enter Castile.

If, upon the reduction of Pampeluna, L'Esparre had been satisfied with taking proper precautions for securing his conquest, the kingdom of Navarre might still have remained annexed to the crown of France, in reality, as well as in title. But, pushed on by youthful ardour, and encouraged by Francis, who was too apt to be dazzled with success, he ventured to pass the confines of Navarre, and to lay siege to Logrogno, a small town in Castile. This rouzed the Castilians, who had hitherto beheld the rapid progress of his arms with great unconcern, and the dissensions in that kingdom being almost composed, both parties exerted themselves with emulation in defence of their country; the one, that it might efface the memory of past misconduct by its present zeal; the other, that it might add to the merit of having subdued the Emperor's rebellious subjects, that of repulsing his foreign enemies. The sudden advance of their troops, together with the gallant defence made by the inhabitants of Logrogno, obliged the French general to abandon his rash enterprize. The Spanish army, which increased every day, harassing him during his retreat, he, instead of

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They are defeated, and driven out of Navarre.

taking shelter under the cannon of Pampeluna, or waiting the arrival of some troops which were marching to join him, attacked the Spaniards, though far superior to him in number, with great impetuosity, but with so little conduct, that his forces were totally routed, he himself, together with his principal officers, was taken prisoner, and Spain recovered possession of Navarre in still shorter time than the French had spent in the conquest of it [y].

Hostilities begun in the Low Countries.

WHILE Francis endeavoured to justify his invasion of Navarre, by carrying it on in the name of Henry D'Albret, he had recourse to an artifice much of the same kind, in attacking another part of the Emperor's territories. Robert de la Mark, lord of the small but independent territory of Bouillon, situated on the frontiers of Luxembourg and Champagne, having abandoned Charles's service on account of an encroachment which the Aulic council had made on his jurisdiction, and having thrown himself upon France for protection, was easily persuaded, in the heat of his resentment, to send a herald to Worms, and to declare war against the Emperor in form. Such extravagant insolence in a petty prince surprized Charles, and appeared to him a certain proof of his having received promises of powerful support from the French King.

[y] Mem. de Bellay, p. 21. P. Mart. Ep. 726.

The

The juſtneſs of this concluſion ſoon became evident. Robert entered Luxembourg with troops levied in France, by the King's connivance, though ſeemingly in contradiction to his orders, and after ravaging the open country, laid ſiege to Vireton. Of this Charles complained loudly, as a direct violation of the peace ſubſiſting between the two crowns, and ſummoned Henry VIII. in terms of the treaty concluded at London in the year one thouſand five hundred and eighteen, to turn his arms againſt Francis as the firſt aggreſſor. Francis pretended that he was not anſwerable for Robert's conduct, whoſe army fought under his own ſtandards, and in his own quarrel; and affirmed, that, contrary to an expreſs prohibition, he had ſeduced ſome ſubjects of France into his ſervice; but Henry paid ſo little regard to this evaſion, that the French King, rather than irritate a prince whom he ſtill hoped to gain, commanded de la Mark to diſband his troops [z]. Book II.

The Emperor, mean while, was aſſembling an army to chaſtiſe Robert's inſolence. Twenty thouſand men, under the count of Naſſau, invaded his little territories, and in a few days became maſters of every place in them but Sedan. After making him feel ſo ſenſibly the weight of

[z] Mem. de Bellay, p. 22, &c. Mem. de Fleuranges, p. 335, &c.

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his maſter's indignation, Naſſau advanced towards the frontiers of France; and Charles knowing that he might preſume ſo far on Henry's partiality in his favour, as not to be over-awed by the ſame fears which had reſtrained Francis, ordered his general to beſiege Mouſon. The cowardice of the garriſon having obliged the governor to ſurrender almoſt without reſiſtance, Naſſau inveſted Mezieres, a place at that time of no conſiderable ſtrength, but ſo advantageouſly ſituated, that by getting poſſeſſion of it, the Imperial army might have penetrated into the heart of Champagne, in which there was hardly any other town capable of obſtructing its progreſs. Happily for France, its monarch, ſenſible of the importance of this fortreſs, and of the danger to which it was expoſed, committed the defence of it to the chevalier Bayard, diſtinguiſhed among his contemporaries by the appellation of *The Knight without fear, and without reproach* [a]. This man, whoſe proweſs in combat, whoſe punctilious honour and formal gallantry, bear a nearer reſemblance, than any thing recorded in hiſtory, to the character aſcribed to the heroes of chivalry, poſſeſſed all the talents which form a great general. Theſe he had many occaſions of exerting in the defence of Mezieres; partly by his valour, partly by his conduct, he protracted the ſiege to a great length,

Siege of Mezieres by the Imperialiſts

[a] Oeuvres de Brantome, tom. vi. 114.

and in the end obliged the Imperialifts to raife it, with infamy and lofs [b]. Francis, at the head of a numerous army, foon retook Moufon, and entering the Low-Countries, made feveral conquefts of fmall importance. In the neighbourhood of Valenciennes, through an excefs of caution, an error with which he cannot be often charged, he loft an opportunity of cutting off the whole Imperial army [c]; and what was ftill of more confequence, he difgufted the conftable Bourbon, by giving the command of the van to the duke D'Alençon, though this poft of honour belonged to Bourbon, as a prerogative of his office.

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August. Congrefs at Calais, under the mediation of England,

During thefe operations in the field, a congrefs was held at Calais under the mediation of Henry VIII. in order to bring all differences to an amicable iffue; and if the intentions of the mediator had correfponded in any degree to his profeffions, it could fcarcely have failed of producing fome good effect. Henry committed the fole management of the negociation, with unlimited powers, to Wolfey; and this choice alone was fufficient to have rendered it abortive. That prelate, bent on attaining the papal crown, the great object of his ambition, and ready to facrifice every thing in order to gain the Emperor's

[b] Mem. de Bellay, p. 25, &c.

[c] P. Mart. Ep. 747. Mem. de Bellay, 35.

Book II. interest, was so little able to conceal his partiality, that, if Francis had not been well acquainted with his haughty and vindictive temper, he would have declined his mediation. Much time was spent in inquiring who had begun hostilities, which Wolsey affected to represent as the principal point; and by throwing the blame of that on Francis, he hoped to justify, by the treaty of London, any alliance into which his master should enter with Charles. The conditions on which hostilities might be terminated, came next to be considered; but with regard to these, the Emperor's proposals were such as discovered either that he was utterly averse to peace, or that he knew Wolsey would approve of whatever terms should be offered in his name. He demanded the restitution of the dutchy of Burgundy, a province, the possession of which would have given him access into the heart of the kingdom; and required a discharge of the homage due to the crown of France for the counties of Flanders and Artois, which none of his ancestors had ever refused, and which he had bound himself by the treaty of Noyon to renew. These terms, to which an high-spirited prince would scarcely have listened, after the disasters of the most unfortunate war, Francis rejected with great disdain; and Charles shewing no inclination to comply with the more equal and moderate propositions of the French monarch,

without any effect.

monarch, that he ſhould reſtore Navarre to its lawful prince, and withdraw his troops from the ſiege of Tournay, the congreſs broke up without any other effect, than that which attends unſucceſsful negociations, the exaſperating of the parties, whom it was intended to reconcile [d].

League againſt France between the Emperor and Henry VIII.

During the continuance of the congreſs, Wolſey, on pretence that the Emperor himſelf would be more willing to make reaſonable conceſſions than his miniſters, made an excurſion to Bruges, to meet that monarch. He was received by Charles, who knew his vanity, with as much reſpect and magnificence as if he had been King of England. But inſtead of advancing the treaty of peace by this interview, Wolſey, in his maſter's name, concluded a league with the Emperor againſt Francis; in which it was ſtipulated, that Charles ſhould invade France on the ſide of Spain, and Henry in Picardy, each with an army of forty thouſand men; and that, in order to ſtrengthen their union, Charles ſhould eſpouſe the Princeſs Mary, Henry's only child, and the apparent heir of his dominions [e]. Henry produced no better reaſons for this meaſure, equally unjuſt and impolitic, than the article in the treaty of London,

[d] P. Mart. Ep. 739. Herbert.

[e] Rymer, Fœder. xiii. Herbert.

 by

Book II. by which he pretended that he was bound to take arms againſt the French King as the firſt aggreſſor; and the injury which he alleged Francis had done him, in permitting the duke of Albany, the head of a faction in Scotland which oppoſed his intereſt, to return into that kingdom. He was influenced, however, by other conſiderations. The advantages which accrued to his ſubjects from maintaining an exact neutrality, or the honour that reſulted to himſelf from acting as the arbiter between the contending princes, appeared to his youthful imagination ſo inconſiderable, when compared with the glory which Charles and Francis reaped from leading armies or conquering provinces, that he determined to remain no longer in a ſtate of inactivity. Having once taken this reſolution, his inducements to prefer an alliance with Charles were obvious. He had no claim upon any part of that Prince's dominions, moſt of which were ſo ſituated, that he could not attack them without great difficulty and diſadvantage; whereas ſeveral maritime provinces of France had been long in the hands of the Engliſh monarchs, whoſe pretenſions, even to the crown of that kingdom, were not as yet altogether forgotten; and the poſſeſſion of Calais not only gave him eaſy acceſs into ſome of theſe provinces, but afforded him, in caſe of any

any disaster, a secure retreat. While Charles attacked France upon one frontier, Henry flattered himself that he would find little resistance on the other, and that the glory of re-annexing to the crown of England the ancient inheritance of its monarchs on the continent, was reserved for his reign. Wolsey artfully encouraged these vain hopes, which led his master into such measures as were most subservient to his own secret schemes; and the English, whose hereditary animosity against the French was apt to rekindle on every occasion, did not disapprove of the martial spirit of their sovereign.

Hostilities in Italy.

Meanwhile the league between the Pope and Emperor produced great effects in Italy, and rendered Lombardy the chief theatre of war. There was, at that time, such contrariety between the character of the French and Italians, that the latter submitted to the government of the former with greater impatience, than they expressed under the dominion of other foreigners. The phlegm of the Germans and gravity of the Spaniards, suited their jealous temper and ceremonious manners better than the French gaiety, too prone to gallantry, and too little attentive to decorum. Lewis XII. however, by the equity and gentleness of his administration, and by granting the Milanese more

Book II. more extenſive privileges than thoſe they had enjoyed under their native princes, had overcome, in a great meaſure, their prejudices, and reconciled them to the French government. Francis, on recovering that dutchy, did not imitate the example of his predeceſſor. Though too generous himſelf to oppreſs his people, his boundleſs confidence in his favourites, and his negligence in examining into the conduct of thoſe whom he entruſted with power, emboldened them to venture upon many acts of oppreſſion. The government of Milan was committed by him to Odet de Foix, Marechal de Lautrec, another brother of Madame de Chateau-Briand, an officer of great experience and reputation, but haughty, imperious, rapacious, and incapable either of liſtening to advice, or of bearing contradiction. His inſolence and exactions totally alienated the affections of the Milaneſe from France, drove many of the conſiderable citizens into baniſhment, and forced others to retire for their own ſafety. Among the laſt was Jerome Moronè, vice-chancellor of Milan, a man whoſe genius for intrigue and enterprize diſtinguiſhed him in an age and country, where violent factions, as well as frequent revolutions, affording great ſcope for ſuch talents, produced or called them forth in great abundance. He repaired to Francis Sforza,

The Milaneſe diſguſted with the French government.

Sforza, whose brother Maximilian he had betrayed; and suspecting the Pope's intention of attacking the Milanese, although his treaty with the Emperor was not yet made public, he proposed to Leo, in name of Sforza, a scheme for surprizing several places in that dutchy by means of the exiles, who, from hatred to the French, and from attachment to their former masters, were ready for any desperate enterprize. Leo not only encouraged the attempt, but advanced a considerable sum towards the execution of it; and when through unforeseen accidents it failed of success in every part, he allowed the exiles, who had assembled in a body, to retire to Reggio, which belonged at that time to the church. The Marechal de Foix, who commanded at Milan in absence of his brother Lautrec, who was then in France, tempted with the hopes of catching at once as in a snare, all the avowed enemies of his master's government in that country, ventured to march into the ecclesiastical territories, and to invest Reggio. But the vigilance and good conduct of Guicciardini the historian, governor of that place, obliged the French general to abandon the enterprize with disgrace [f]. Leo, on receiving this intelligence, with which he was highly pleased, as it furnished him a decent pretext for a rupture

June 24.

The Pope declares against Francis.

[f] Guic. lib. xiv. 183. Mem. de Bellay, p. 38, &c.

Book II. ture with France, immediately assembled the consistory of Cardinals. After complaining bitterly of the hostile intentions of the French King, and magnifying the Emperor's zeal for the church, of which he had given a recent proof by his proceedings against Luther, he declared that he was constrained in self-defence, and as the only expedient for the security of the ecclesiastical state, to join his arms to those of that prince. For this purpose, he now pretended to conclude a treaty with Don John Manuel, although it had really been signed some months before this time; and he publickly excommunicated De Foix, as an impious invader of St. Peter's patrimony.

War in the Milanese.

Leo had already begun preparations for war by taking into pay a considerable body of Swiss; but the Imperial troops advanced so slowly from Naples and Germany, that it was the middle of autumn before the army took the field under the command of Prosper Colonna, the most eminent of the Italian generals, whose extreme caution, the effect of long experience in the art of war, were opposed with great propriety to the impetuosity of the French. In the mean time, De Foix dispatched courier after courier to inform the King of the danger which was approaching. Francis, whose forces were

were either employed in the Low-Countries, or assembling on the frontiers of Spain, and who did not expect so sudden an attack in that quarter, sent ambassadors to his allies the Swiss, to procure from them the immediate levy of an additional body of troops; and commanded Lautrec to repair forthwith to his government. That general, who was well acquainted with the great neglect of œconomy in the administration of the King's finances, and who knew how much the troops in the Milanese had already suffered from the want of their pay, refused to set out, unless the sum of three hundred thousand crowns was immediately put into his hands. But the King, Louise of Savoy, his mother, and Semblançay, the superintendant of finances, having promised, even with an oath, that on his arrival at Milan he should find remittances for the sum which he demanded; upon the faith of this, he departed. Unhappily for France, Louise, a woman deceitful, vindictive, rapacious and capable of sacrificing any thing to the gratification of her passions, but who had acquired an absolute ascendant over her son by her maternal tenderness, her care of his education, and her great abilities, was resolved not to perform this promise. Lautrec having incurred her displeasure by his haughtiness in neglecting to pay court to her, and by the freedom

Book II. dom with which he had talked concerning some of her adventures in gallantry, she, in order to deprive him of the honour which he might have gained by a successful defence of the Milanese, seized the three hundred thousand crowns destined for that service, and detained them for her own use.

Progress of the Imperialists.

Lautrec, notwithstanding this cruel disappointment, found means to assemble a considerable army, though far inferior in number to that of the confederates. He adopted the plan of defence most suitable to his situation, avoiding a pitched battle with the greatest care, while he harassed the enemy continually with his light troops, beat up their quarters, intercepted their convoys, and covered or relieved every place which they attempted to attack. By this prudent conduct, he not only retarded their progress, but would have soon wearied out the Pope, who had hitherto defrayed almost the whole expence of the war, as the Emperor, whose revenues in Spain were dissipated during the commotions in that country, and who was obliged to support a numerous army in the Netherlands, could not make any considerable remittances into Italy. But an unforeseen accident disconcerted all his measures, and occasioned a fatal reverse in the French affairs. A body

body of twelve thousand Swiss served in Lautrec's army under the banners of the republic, with which France was in alliance. By a law, no less political than humane, established among the cantons, their troops were not hired out by public authority to both the contending parties in any war. This law, the love of gain had sometimes eluded, and private persons had been allowed to enlist in what service they pleased, though not under the public banners, but under those of their officers. The Cardinal of Sion, who still preserved his interest among his countrymen, and his enmity to France, having prevailed on them to permit a levy of this kind, twelve thousand Swiss joined the army of the confederates. The cantons, when they saw so many of their countrymen marching under hostile standards, and ready to destroy each other, became sensible of the infamy to which they would be exposed, as well as the loss they might suffer, and dispatched couriers, commanding them to leave both armies, and to return forthwith into their own country. The Cardinal of Sion, however, had the address, by corrupting the messengers appointed to carry this order, to prevent it from being delivered to the Swiss in the service of the confederates; but being intimated in due form to those in the French army, they, fatigued with the length of the campaign, and murmuring for want of

Book II. pay, inſtantly yielded obedience, in ſpite of Lautrec's remonſtrances and intreaties.

Become maſters of Milan.

After the deſertion of a body which formed the ſtrength of his army, Lautrec durſt no longer face the confederates. He retired towards Milan, encamped on the banks of the Adda, and placed his chief hopes of ſafety in preventing the enemy from paſſing the river; an expedient for defending a country ſo precarious, that there are few examples of its being employed with ſucceſs againſt any general of experience or abilities. Accordingly Colonna, notwithſtanding Lautrec's vigilance and activity, paſſed the Adda with little loſs, and obliged him to ſhut himſelf up within the walls of Milan, which the confederates were preparing to beſiege when an unknown perſon, who never afterwards appeared either to boaſt of this ſervice, or to claim a reward for it, came from the city and acquainted Morone, that if the army would advance that night, the Ghibelline or Imperial faction would put them in poſſeſſion of one of the gates. Colonna, though no friend to raſh enterprizes, allowed the marquis de Peſcara to advance with the Spaniſh infantry, and he himſelf followed with the reſt of his troops. About the beginning of night, Peſcara arriving at the Roman gate in the ſuburbs, ſurprized

furprized the foldiers whom he found there; those posted in the fortifications adjoining to it, immediately fled; the marquis, feizing the works which they abandoned, and pushing forward inceffantly, though with no lefs caution than vigour, became mafter of the city with little bloodfhed, and almoft without refiftance; the victors being as much aftonifhed as the vanquifhed at the facility and fuccefs of the attempt. Lautrec retired precipitately towards the Venetian territories with the remains of his fhattered army; the cities of the Milanefe, following the fate of the capital, furrendered to the confederates; Parma and Placentia were united to the ecclefiaftical ftate, and of all their conquefts in Lombardy, only the town of Cremona, the caftle of Milan, and a few inconfiderable forts remained in the hands of the French [g].

Book II.

Death of Leo X.

LEO received the accounts of this rapid fucceffion of profperous events with fuch tranfports of joy, as brought on (if we may believe the French hiftorians) a flight fever, which being neglected, occafioned his death on the fecond of December, while he was ftill of a vigorous age, and at the height of his glory. By this

[g] Guic. l. xiv. 190, &c. Mem. de Bellay, 42, &c. Galeacii Capella de reb. geft. pro reftitut. Fran. Sfortiæ Comment. ap. Scardium, vol. ii. 180, &c.

 unexpected

Book II. unexpected accident, the ſpirit of the confederacy was broken, and its operations ſuſpended. The Cardinals of Sion and Medici left the army that they might be preſent in the conclave; the Swiſs were recalled by their ſuperiors; ſome other mercenaries diſbanded for want of pay; and only the Spaniards, and a few Germans in the Emperor's ſervice, remained to defend the Milaneſe. But Lautrec, deſtitute both of men and of money, was unable to improve this favourable opportunity in the manner which he would have wiſhed. The vigilance of Moronè, and the good conduct of Colonna, diſappointed his feeble attempts on the Mila-

1522. neſe. Guicciardini, by his addreſs and valour, repulſed a bolder and more dangerous attack which he made on Parma [h].

Adrian elected Pope.

Meanwhile great diſcord prevailed in the conclave, which followed upon Leo's death, and all the arts natural to men grown old in intrigue, when contending for a prize ſo valuable, were practiſed. Wolſey's name, notwithſtanding all the Emperor's magnificent promiſes to favour his pretenſions, of which that prelate did not fail to remind him, was hardly mentioned in the conclave. Julio Cardinal de Medici, Leo's nephew, who was more eminent than

[h] Guic. l. xiv. 214.

any

any other member of the ſacred college for his abilities, his wealth, and his experience in tranſacting great affairs, had already ſecured fifteen voices, a number ſufficient, according to the forms of the conclave, to exclude any other candidate, though not to carry his own election. All the old cardinals combined againſt him, without being united in favour of any other perſon. While theſe factions were endeavouring to gain, to corrupt, or to weary out each other, Medici and his adherents voted one morning at the ſcrutiny, which according to form was made every day, for Cardinal Adrian of Utrecht, who at that time governed Spain in the Emperor's name. This they did merely to protract time. But the adverſe party inſtantly cloſing with them, to their own amazement and that of all Europe, a ſtranger to Italy, unknown to the perſons who gave their ſuffrages in his favour, and unacquainted with the manners of the people, or the intereſt of the ſtate, the government of which they conferred upon him, was unanimouſly raiſed to the papal throne, at a juncture ſo delicate and critical, as would have demanded all the ſagacity and experience of one of the moſt able prelates in the ſacred college. The Cardinals themſelves, unable to give a reaſon for this ſtrange choice, on account of which, as they marched in proceſſion from

Book II. January 9.

Book II. the conclave, they were loaded with insults and curses by the Roman people, ascribed it to an immediate impulse of the Holy Ghost. It may be imputed with greater certainty to the influence of Don John Manuel, the Imperial ambassador, who by his address and intrigues facilitated the election of a person devoted to his master's service, from gratitude, from interest, and from inclination [i].

War renewed in the Milanese.

BESIDES the influence which Charles acquired by Adrian's promotion, it threw great lustre on his administration. To bestow on his preceptor such a noble recompence, and to place on the papal throne a creature whom he had raised, were acts of uncommon magnificence and power. Francis observed, with the sensibility of a rival, the pre-eminence which he was gaining, and resolved to exert himself with fresh vigour, in order to wrest from him his late conquests in Italy. The Swiss, that they might make some reparation to the French King, for having withdrawn their troops from his army so unseasonably, as to occasion the loss of the Milanese, permitted him to levy ten thousand men in the republic. Together with this reinforcement,

i Germ. Moringi Vita Hadriani ap. Casp. Burman. in Analect. de Hadr. p. 52. Conclave Hadr. Ibid. p. 144, &c.

Lautrec

Lautrec received from the King a ſmall ſum in money, which enabled him once more to take the field, and after ſeizing by ſurprize, or force, ſeveral places in the Milaneſe, to advance within a few miles of the capital. The confederate army was in no condition to obſtruct his progreſs; for though the inhabitants of Milan, by the artifices of Moronè, and by the popular declamations of a monk whom he employed, were inflamed with ſuch enthuſiaſtic zeal againſt the French government, that they conſented to raiſe extraordinary contributions, Colonna muſt ſoon have abandoned the advantageous camp which he had choſen at Bicocca, and have diſmiſſed his troops for want of pay, if the Swiſs in the French ſervice had not once more extricated him out of his difficulties.

The French defeated in the battle of Bicocca.

The inſolence and caprice of that people were often no leſs fatal to their friends, than their valour and diſcipline were formidable to their enemies. Having now ſerved ſome months without pay, of which they complained loudly, a ſum deſtined for their uſe was ſent from France under a convoy of horſe; but Moronè, whoſe vigilant eye nothing eſcaped, poſted a body of troops in their way, ſo that thoſe who eſcorted the money durſt not advance. On receiving intelligence of this, the Swiſs loſt all patience,

Book II. and officers as well as ſoldiers crowding around Lautrec, threatened with one voice inſtantly to retire, if he did not either advance the pay which was due, or promiſe to lead them next morning to battle. In vain did Lautrec remonſtrate againſt theſe demands, repreſenting to them the impoſſibility of the former, and the raſhneſs of the latter, which muſt be attended with certain deſtruction, as the enemy occupied a camp naturally of great ſtrength, and which by art they had rendered almoſt inacceſſible. The Swiſs, deaf to reaſon, and perſuaded that their valour was capable of ſurmounting every obſtacle, renewed their demand with greater fierceneſs, offering themſelves to form the van-guard, and to begin the attack. Lautrec, unable to overcome their obſtinacy, complied with their requeſt, hoping, perhaps, that ſome of thoſe unforeſeen accidents which ſo often determine the fate of battles, might crown this raſh enterprize with undeſerved ſucceſs; and convinced that the effects of a defeat could not be more fatal than thoſe which would certainly follow upon the retreat of a body which com-

May. poſed one half of his army. Next morning the Swiſs were early in the field, and marched with the greateſt intrepidity againſt an enemy deeply intrenched on every ſide, ſurrounded with artillery, and prepared to receive them. As they

 advanced,

advanced, they ſuſtained a furious cannonade with great firmneſs, and without waiting for their own artillery, ruſhed impetuouſly upon the intrenchments. But after incredible efforts of valour, which were ſeconded with great ſpirit by the French, having loſt their braveſt officers and beſt ſoldiers, and finding that they could make no impreſſion on the enemy's works, they ſounded a retreat; leaving the field of battle, however, like men repulſed, but not vanquiſhed, in cloſe array, and without receiving any moleſtation from the enemy.

Book II. 1522.

Driven out of the Milaneſe.

NEXT day, ſuch as ſurvived ſet out for their own country; and Lautrec, deſpairing of being able to make any farther reſiſtance, retired into France, after throwing garriſons into Cremona, and a few other places; all which, except the citadel of Cremona, Colonna ſoon obliged to ſurrender.

Loſe Genoa.

GENOA, however, and its territories, remaining ſubject to France, ſtill gave Francis conſiderable footing in Italy, and made it eaſy for him to execute any ſcheme for the recovery of the Milaneſe. But Colonna, rendered enterprizing by continual ſucceſs, and excited by the ſolicitations of the faction of the Adorni, the hereditary enemies of the Fregoſi, who under

Book II. the protection of France possessed the chief authority in Genoa, determined to attempt the reduction of that state; and accomplished it with amazing facility. He became master of Genoa by an accident as unexpected as that which had given him possession of Milan; and almost without opposition or bloodshed, the power of the Adorni and the authority of the Emperor were established in Genoa [k].

Henry VIII. declares war against France. May 29.

Such a cruel succession of misfortunes affected Francis with deep concern, which was not a little augmented by the unexpected arrival of an English herald, who, in the name of his sovereign, declared war in form against France. This step was taken in consequence of the treaty which Wolsey had concluded with the Emperor at Bruges, and which had hitherto been kept secret. Francis, though he had reason to be surprized with this denunciation, after having been at such pains to sooth Henry and to gain his minister, received the herald with great composure and dignity [l]; and without abandoning any of the schemes which he was forming against the Emperor, began vigorous preparations for resisting this new enemy. His treasury, however, being exhausted by the efforts

[k] Jovii Vita Ferdin. Davali. p. 344. Guic. l. xiv. 233.
[l] Journal de Louise de Savoie, p. 199.

which

which he had already made, as well as by the ſums he expended on his pleaſures, he had recourſe to extraordinary expedients for ſupplying it. Several new offices were created, and expoſed to ſale; the royal demeſnes were alienated; unuſual taxes were impoſed; and the tomb of St. Martin was ſtripped of a rail of maſſive ſilver, with which Louis XI. in one of his fits of devotion, had encircled it. By means of theſe expedients he was enabled to levy a conſiderable army, and to put the frontier towns in a good poſture of defence.

Charles viſits England.

The Emperor, mean while, was no leſs ſolicitous to draw as much advantage as poſſible from the acceſſion of ſuch a powerful ally; and the proſperous ſituation of his affairs, at this time, permitting him to ſet out for Spain, where his preſence was extremely neceſſary, he viſited the court of England in his way to that country. He propoſed by this interview not only to ſtrengthen the bonds of friendſhip which united him and Henry, and to excite him to puſh the war againſt France with vigour, but hoped to remove any diſguſt or reſentment that Wolſey might have conceived on account of the cruel diſappointment which he had met with in the late conclave. His ſucceſs exceeded his moſt ſanguine expectations; and by his artful addreſs,

Book II. addrefs, during a refidence of fix weeks in England, he gained not only the King and the minifter, but the nation itfelf. Henry, whofe vanity was fenfibly flattered by fuch a vifit, as well as by the ftudied refpect with which the Emperor treated him on every occafion, entered warmly into all his fchemes. The Cardinal, forefeeing from Adrian's age and infirmities, a fudden vacancy in the papal fee, diffembled or forgot his refentment; and as Charles augmented the penfions which he had already fettled on him, and renewed his promife of favouring his pretenfions to the papacy, with all his intereft, he endeavoured to merit the former, and to fecure the accomplifhment of the latter, by frefh fervices. The nation, fharing in the glory of its monarch, and pleafed with the confidence which the Emperor placed in the Englifh, by creating the earl of Surrey his high-admiral, difcovered no lefs inclination to commence hoftilities than Henry himfelf.

The Englifh invade France,

In order to give Charles, before he left England, a proof of this general ardour, Surrey failed with fuch forces as were ready, and ravaged the coafts of Normandy. He then made a defcent on Bretagne, where he plundered and burnt Morlaix, and fome other places of lefs confequence. After thefe flight excurfions, attended

tended with greater dishonour than damage to France, he repaired to Calais, and took the command of the principal army, consisting of sixteen thousand men; with which, having joined the Flemish troops under the count de Buren, he advanced into Picardy. The army which Francis had assembled, was far inferior in number to these united bodies. But during the long wars between the two nations, the French had discovered the proper method of defending their country against the English. They had been taught by their misfortunes to avoid a pitched battle with the utmost care, and to endeavour, by throwing garrisons into every place capable of resistance, by watching all the enemy's motions, by intercepting their convoys, attacking their advanced posts, and harassing them continually with their numerous cavalry, to ruin them with the length of the war, or to beat them by piece-meal. This plan the duke of Vendome, the French general in Picardy, pursued with no less prudence than success; and not only prevented Surrey from taking any town of importance, but obliged him to retire with his army greatly reduced by fatigue, by want of provisions, and by the loss which it had sustained in several unsuccessful skirmishes.

BOOK II.

with little success.

THUS

Book II.

Thus ended the second campaign in a war the most general that hitherto had been kindled in Europe; and though Francis, by his mother's ill-timed resentment, by the disgusting insolence of his general, and the caprice of the mercenary troops which he employed, had lost his conquests in Italy, yet all the powers combined against him had not been able to make any impression on his hereditary dominions; and wherever they either intended or attempted an attack, he was well prepared to receive them.

Solyman's conquest of Rhodes.

While the Christian princes were thus wasting each other's strength, Solyman the Magnificent entered Hungary with a numerous army, and investing Belgrade, which was deemed the chief barrier of that kingdom against the Turkish arms, soon forced it to surrender. Encouraged by this success, he turned his victorious arms against the island of Rhodes, the seat, at that time, of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. This small state he attacked with such a numerous army, as the lords of Asia have been accustomed in every age to bring into the field. Two hundred thousand men, and a fleet of four hundred sail appeared against a town defended by a garrison consisting of five thousand soldiers, and six hundred knights, under the command of Villiers de

L'Isle

L'isle Adam, the grand master, whose wisdom and valour rendered him worthy of that station at such a dangerous juncture. No sooner did he begin to suspect the destination of Solyman's vast armaments, than he dispatched messengers to all the Christian courts, imploring their aid against the common enemy. But though every prince in that age acknowledged Rhodes to be the great bulwark of Christendom in the east, and trusted to the gallantry of its knights as the best security against the progress of the Ottoman arms; though Adrian, with a zeal which became the head and father of the church, exhorted the contending powers, to forget their private quarrels, and by uniting their arms, to prevent the Infidels from destroying a society which did honour to the Christian name; yet so violent and implacable was the animosity of both parties, that, regardless of the danger to which they exposed all Europe, and unmoved by the intreaties of the grand master, or the admonitions of the Pope, they suffered Solyman, without disturbance, to carry on his operations against Rhodes. The grand master, after incredible efforts of courage, of patience, and of military conduct during a siege of six months; after sustaining many assaults, and disputing every post with amazing obstinacy, was obliged at last to yield to numbers, and having 1522.

obtained

Book II. obtained an honourable capitulation from the Sultan, who admired and reſpected his virtue, he ſurrendered the town, which was reduced to a heap of rubbiſh, and deſtitute of every reſource [m]. Charles and Francis, aſhamed of having occaſioned ſuch a loſs to Chriſtendom by their ambitious conteſts, endeavoured to throw the blame of it on each other, while all Europe, with greater juſtice, imputed it equally to both. The Emperor, by way of reparation, granted the knights of St. John the ſmall iſland of Malta, in which they fixed their reſidence, retaining, though with leſs power and ſplendour, their ancient ſpirit, and implacable enmity to the Infidels.

[m] Fontanus de Bello Rhodio ap. Scard. Script. Rer. German. Vol. ii. p. 88. P. Barre. Hiſt. d'Allem. tom. viii. 57.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF THE

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK III.

Civil war in Castile.

CHARLES, having had the satisfaction of seeing hostilities begun between France and England, took leave of Henry, and arrived in Spain on the seventeenth of June. He found that country just beginning to recover order and strength after the miseries of a civil war to which it had been exposed during his absence; an account of the rise and progress of which, as it was but little connected with the other events that happened in Europe, hath been reserved to this place.

No

Book III. Insurrection of Toledo.

No sooner was it known that the Cortes assembled in Galicia had voted the Emperor a *free-gift*, without obtaining the redress of any one grievance, than it excited universal indignation. The citizens of Toledo, who considered themselves, on account of the great privileges which they enjoyed, as guardians of the liberties of the Castilian commons, finding that no regard was paid to the remonstrances of their deputies against that unconstitutional grant, took arms with tumultuary violence, and seizing the gates of the city which were fortified, attacked the al-cazar, or castle, which they soon obliged the governor to surrender. Emboldened by this success, they deprived of all authority every person whom they suspected of any attachment to the court, established a popular form of government, composed of deputies from the several parishes in the city, and levied troops in their own defence. The chief leader of the people in these insurrections was don John de Padilla, the eldest son of the commendador of Castile, a young nobleman of a generous temper, of undaunted courage, and possessed of the talents as well as of the ambition which, in times of civil discord, raise men to power and eminence[a].

[a] Sandov. p. 77.

The resentment of the citizens of Segovia produced effects still more fatal. Tordesillas, one of their representatives in the late Cortes, had voted for the donative; and being a bold and haughty man, ventured, upon his return, to call together his fellow-citizens in the great church, that he might give them, according to custom, an account of his conduct in that assembly. But the multitude, unable to bear his insolence, in attempting to justify what they thought inexcusable, burst open the gates of the church with the utmost fury, and seizing the unhappy Tordesillas, dragged him through the streets, with a thousand curses and insults, towards the place of public execution. In vain did the dean and canons come forth in procession with the holy sacrament, in order to appease their rage. In vain did the monks of those monasteries by which they passed, conjure them on their knees to spare his life, or at least to allow him time to confess, and to receive absolution of his sins. Without listening to the dictates either of humanity or religion, they cried out, "That the hangman alone could absolve such a traitor to his country;" they hurried him along with greater violence; and perceiving that he had expired under their hands, they hung him up with his head downwards on the com-

Book III. Of Segovia.

Book III. mon gibbet[b]. The ſame ſpirit ſeized the inhabitants of Burgos, Zamora, and ſeveral other cities; and though their repreſentatives, taking warning from the fate of Tordeſillas, had been ſo wiſe as to ſave themſelves by a timely flight, they were burnt in effigy, their houſes razed to the ground, and their effects conſumed with fire; and ſuch was the horror which the people had conceived againſt them as betrayers of the public liberty, that not one in thoſe licentious multitudes would touch any thing, however valuable, which had belonged to them[c].

Meaſures of Adrian, in order to puniſh them. June 5, 1520.

Adrian, at that time regent of Spain, had ſcarcely fixed the ſeat of his government at Valladolid, when he was alarmed with an account of theſe inſurrections. He immediately aſſembled the council to deliberate concerning the proper method of ſuppreſſing them. The counſellors differed in opinion; ſome inſiſting that it was neceſſary to check this audacious ſpirit in its infancy by a ſevere execution of juſtice; others adviſing to treat with lenity a people who had ſome reaſon to be incenſed, and not to drive them beyond all the bounds of duty by an ill-timed rigour. The ſentiments of the former being warmly ſupported by the archbiſhop of Granada,

b P. Martyr. Ep. 671.

c Sandov. 103. P. Mart. Ep. 674.

preſident

president of the council, a person of great authority, but choleric and impetuous, were approved of by Adrian, whose zeal to support his master's authority hurried him into a measure, to which, from his natural caution and timidity, he would otherwise have been averse. He commanded Ronquillo, one of the King's judges, to repair instantly to Segovia, which had set the first example of mutiny, and to proceed against the delinquents according to law; and lest the people should be so outrageous as to resist his authority, a considerable body of troops was appointed to attend him. The Segovians, foreseeing what they might expect from a judge so well known for his austere and unforgiving temper, took arms with one consent, and having mustered twelve thousand men, shut their gates against him. Ronquillo, enraged at this insult, denounced them rebels and outlaws; and his troops seizing all the avenues to the town, hoped that it would soon be obliged to surrender for want of provisions. The inhabitants, however, defended themselves with vigour, and having received a considerable reinforcement from Toledo, under the command of Padilla, attacked Ronquillo, and forced him to retire, with the loss of his baggage and military chest[d].

BOOK III.

His troops repulsed at Segovia,

[d] Sandov. 112. P. Mart. Ep. 679. Miniana, Contin. p. 15.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI ... TANJORE

Book III.

and at Medina del Campo.

Upon this Adrian ordered Antonio de Fonseca, whom the Emperor had appointed commander in chief of the forces in Castile, to assemble an army, and to besiege Segovia in form. But the inhabitants of Medina del Campo, where Cardinal Ximenes had established a vast magazine of military stores, would not suffer him to draw from it a train of battering cannon, or to destroy their countrymen with those arms which had been prepared against the enemies of the kingdom. Fonseca, who could not execute his orders without artillery, determined to seize the magazine by force, and the citizens standing on their

Aug. 21.

defence, he assaulted the town with great briskness: But his troops were so warmly received, that despairing of carrying the place, he set fire to some of the houses, in hopes that the citizens would abandon the walls, in order to save their families and effects. Instead of that, the expedient to which he had recourse served only to increase their fury, and he was repulsed with great infamy, while the flames spreading from street to street, reduced to ashes almost the whole town, one of the most considerable at that time in Spain, and the great mart for the manufactures of Segovia, and several other cities. As the warehouses were then filled with goods for the approaching fair, the loss was immense, and was felt universally. This, added to the impression

which

which ſuch a cruel action made on a people long unaccuſtomed to the horrors of civil war, enraged the Caſtilians almoſt to madneſs. Fonſeca became the object of general indignation, and was branded with the name of incendiary, and enemy to his country. Even the citizens of Valladolid, whom the preſence of the Cardinal had hitherto reſtrained, declared that they could no longer remain inactive ſpectators of the ſufferings of their countrymen, and taking arms with no leſs fury than the other cities, they burnt Fonſeca's houſe to the ground, elected new magiſtrates, raiſed ſoldiers, appointed officers to command them, and guarded their walls with as much diligence as if an enemy had been ready to attack them.

Adrian diſbands his troops.

THE Cardinal, though virtuous and diſintereſted, and capable of governing the kingdom with honour in times of tranquillity, poſſeſſed neither the courage nor ſagacity neceſſary at ſuch a dangerous juncture. Finding himſelf unable to check theſe outrages committed under his own eye, he attempted to appeaſe the people, by proteſting that Fonſeca had exceeded his orders, and had by his raſh conduct offended him, as much as he had injured them. This condeſcenſion, the effect of irreſolution and timidity, rendered the malecontents bolder and

 more

Book III. more inſolent; and the Cardinal having ſoon after recalled Fonſeca, and diſmiſſed his troops, which he could no longer afford to pay, as the treaſury, drained by the rapaciouſneſs of the Flemiſh miniſters, had received no ſupply from the great cities, which were all in arms, the people were left at full liberty to act without controul, and ſcarcely any ſhadow of power remained in his hands.

The views and pretenſions of the commons of Caſtile.

Nor were the proceedings of the commons the effects merely of popular and tumultuary rage; they aimed at obtaining redreſs of their political grievances, and an eſtabliſhment of public liberty on a ſecure baſis, objects worthy of all the zeal which they diſcovered in contending for them. The feudal government in Spain was at that time in a ſtate more favourable to liberty than in any other of the great European kingdoms. This was owing chiefly to the number of great cities in that country, a circumſtance I have already taken notice of, and which contributes more than any other to mitigate the rigour of the feudal inſtitutions, and to introduce a more liberal and equal form of government. The inhabitants of every city formed a great corporation, with valuable immunities and privileges; they were delivered from a ſtate of ſubjection and vaſſalage; they were

admitted to a conſiderable ſhare in the legiſla- Book III.
ture; they acquired the arts of induſtry, without which cities cannot ſubſiſt; they accumulated wealth, by engaging in commerce; and being free and independent themſelves, were the guardians of the public freedom and independence. The genius of the internal government eſtabliſhed in cities, which, even in countries where deſpotic power prevails moſt, is democratical and republican, rendered the idea of liberty familiar and dear to them. Their repreſentatives in the Cortes were accuſtomed to check with equal ſpirit the encroachments of the King, and the oppreſſion of the nobles. They endeavoured to extend the privileges of their own order; they laboured to ſhake off the remaining incumbrances with which the feudal tyranny had burdened them; and conſcious of being one of the moſt conſiderable orders in the ſtate, were ambitious of becoming the moſt powerful.

Their confederacy by the name of the Holy Junto.

The preſent juncture appeared favourable for puſhing any new claim. Their ſovereign was abſent from his dominions; by the ill-conduct of his miniſters he had loſt the eſteem and affection of his ſubjects; the people exaſperated by many injuries had taken arms, though without concert, almoſt by general conſent; they were animated with rage capable of carrying them to the

Book III. the moſt violent extremes; the royal treaſury was exhauſted; the kingdom deſtitute of troops; and the government committed to a ſtranger, of great virtue indeed, but of abilities unequal to ſuch a truſt. The firſt care of Padilla, and the other popular leaders who obſerved and determined to improve theſe circumſtances, was to eſtabliſh ſome form of union or aſſociation among the malecontents, that they might act with greater regularity, and purſue one common end; and as the different cities had been prompted to take arms by the ſame motives, and were accuſtomed to conſider themſelves as a diſtinct body from the reſt of the ſubjects, they did not find this difficult. A general convention was appointed to be held at Avila. Deputies appeared there in name of almoſt all the cities entitled to have repreſentatives in the Cortes. They all bound themſelves by ſolemn oath, to live and die in the ſervice of the King, and in defence of the privileges of their order; and aſſuming the name of the holy *Junta* or aſſociation, proceeded to deliberate concerning the ſtate of the nation, and the proper method of redreſſing its grievances. The firſt that naturally preſented itſelf, was the nomination of a foreigner to be regent; this they declared with one voice to be a violation of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and reſolved to ſend a deputation of their members to Adrian, requiring him in their name to lay

They diſclaim Adrian's authority.

lay aside all the ensigns of his office, and to abstain for the future from the exercise of a jurisdiction which they had pronounced illegal [e]. Book III.

While they were preparing to execute this bold resolution, Padilla accomplished an enterprize of the greatest advantage to the cause. After relieving Segovia, he marched suddenly to Tordesillas, the place where the unhappy Queen Joanna had resided since the death of her husband, and being favoured by the inhabitants, was admitted into the town, and became master of her person, for the security of which Adrian had neglected to take proper precautions [f]. Padilla waited immediately upon the Queen, and accosting her with that profound respect, which she exacted from the few persons whom she deigned to admit into her presence, acquainted her at large with the miserable condition of her Castilian subjects under the government of her son, who being destitute of experience himself, permitted his foreign ministers to treat them with such rigour, as had obliged them to take arms in defence of the liberties of their country. The Queen, as if she had been awakened out of a lethargy, expressed great astonishment at what he said, and told him, that as she had never heard, till that moment, of the death of her father,

Get possession of Queen Joanna.

Aug. 29.

[e] P. Mart. Ep. 691. [f] Vita dell' Imper. Carl. V. dall Alf. Ulloa, Ven. 1509. p. 67. Miniana, Contin. p. 17.

Book III. father, or known the ſufferings of her people, no blame could be imputed to her, but that now ſhe would take care to provide a ſufficient remedy; and in the mean time, added ſhe, let it be your concern to do what is neceſſary for the public welfare. Padilla, too eager in forming a concluſion agreeable to his wiſhes, miſtook this lucid interval of reaſon for a perfect return of that faculty; and acquainting the Junta with what had happened, adviſed them to remove to Tordeſillas, and to hold their meetings in that place. This was inſtantly done; but though Joanna received very graciouſly an addreſs of the Junta, beſeeching her to take upon her the government of the kingdom, and in token of her compliance, admitted all the deputies to kiſs her hand; though ſhe was preſent at a tournament held on that occaſion, and ſeemed highly ſatisfied with both theſe ceremonies, which were conducted with great magnificence in order to pleaſe her, ſhe ſoon relapſed into her former melancholy and ſullenneſs, and could never be brought, by any arguments or intreaties, to ſign any one paper neceſſary towards the diſpatch of buſineſs [g].

Carry on government in her name.

The Junta concealing as much as poſſible this laſt circumſtance, carried on all their deli-

[g] Sandov. 164. P. Mart. Ep. 685, 686.

berations

berations in her name; and as the Caſtilians, who idolized the memory of Iſabella, retained a wonderful attachment to her daughter, no ſooner was it known that ſhe had conſented to aſſume the reins of government, than the people expreſſed the moſt univerſal and immoderate joy; and believing her recovery to be compleat, aſcribed it to a miraculous interpoſition of heaven, in order to reſcue their country from the oppreſſion of foreigners. The Junta, conſcious of the reputation and power they had acquired by ſeeming to act under the royal authority, were no longer ſatisfied with requiring Adrian to reſign the office of regent; they detached Padilla to Valladolid with a conſiderable body of troops, ordering him to ſeize ſuch members of the council as were ſtill in that city, to conduct them to Tordeſillas, and to bring away the ſeals of the kingdom, the public archives, and treaſury books. Padilla, who was received by the citizens as the deliverer of his country, executed his commiſſion with great exactneſs; permitting Adrian, however, ſtill to reſide in Valladolid, though only as a private perſon, and without any ſhadow of power[h].

Book III.

and deprive Adrian of all power.

The Emperor, to whom frequent accounts of theſe tranſactions were tranſmitted while he was ſtill in Flanders, was ſenſible of his own impru-

The Emperor alarmed.

[h] Sandov. 174. P. Mart. Ep. 791.

dence

Book III. dence and that of his miniſters, in having deſpiſed too long the murmurs and remonſtrances of the Caſtilians. He beheld, with deep concern, a kingdom, the moſt valuable of any he poſſeſſed, and in which lay the ſtrength and ſinews of his power, juſt ready to diſown his authority, and on the point of being plunged in all the miſeries of civil war. But though his preſence might have averted this calamity, he could not, at that time, viſit Spain without endangering the Imperial crown, and allowing the French King full leiſure to execute his ambitious ſchemes. The only point now to be deliberated upon, was whether he ſhould attempt to gain the malecontents by indulgence and conceſſions, or prepare directly to ſuppreſs them by force; and he reſolved to make trial of the former, while, at the ſame time, if that ſhould fail of ſucceſs, he prepared for the latter. For this purpoſe, he iſſued circular letters to all the cities of Caſtile, exhorting them in moſt gentle terms, and with aſſurances of full pardon, to lay down their arms; he promiſed ſuch cities as had continued faithful, not to exact from them the ſubſidy granted in the late Cortes, and offered the ſame favour to thoſe who returned to their duty; he engaged that no office ſhould be conferred for the future upon any but native Caſtilians. On the other hand, he wrote to the nobles, exciting them to appear with vigour in defence

His meaſures with reſpect to the malecontents.

defence of their own rights, and thofe of the crown, againft the exorbitant claims of the commons; he appointed the high admiral, Don Fadrique Enriquez, and the high conftable of Caftile, Don Inigo de Velafco, two noblemen of great abilities as well as influence, regents of the kingdom in conjunction with Adrian; and he gave them full power and inftructions, if the obftinacy of the malecontents fhould render it neceffary, to vindicate the royal authority by force of arms[i].

The large remonftrance of the Junta concerning their grievances.

THESE conceffions, which, at the time of his leaving Spain, would have fully fatisfied the people, came now too late to produce any effect. The Junta, relying on the unanimity with which the nation fubmitted to their authority, elated with the fuccefs which hitherto had accompanied all their undertakings, and feeing no military force collected to defeat or obftruct their defigns, aimed at a more thorough reformation of political abufes. They had been employed for fome time in preparing a remonftrance, containing a large enumeration not only of the grievances, of which they craved redrefs, but of fuch new regulations as they thought neceffary for the fecurity of their liberties. This remonftrance, which is divided into many articles re-

[i] P. Heuter. Rer. Auftr. lib. viii. c. 6. p. 188.

lating

Book III. lating to all the different members of which the conſtitution was compoſed, as well as to the various departments in the adminiſtration of government, furniſhes us with more authentic evidence concerning the intentions of the Junta, than can be drawn from the teſtimony of the later Spaniſh hiſtorians, who lived in times when it became faſhionable and even neceſſary to repreſent the conduct of the malecontents in the worſt light, and as flowing from the worſt motives. After a long preamble concerning the various calamities under which the nation groaned, and the errors and corruption in government to which theſe were to be imputed, they take notice of the exemplary patience wherewith the people had endured them, until ſelf-preſervation, and the duty which they owed to their country, had obliged them to aſſemble, in order to provide in a legal manner for their own ſafety, and that of the conſtitution: For this purpoſe, they demanded that the King would be pleaſed to return to his Spaniſh dominions, and reſide there, as all their former monarchs had done; that he would not marry but with conſent of the Cortes; that if he ſhould be obliged at any time to leave the kingdom, it ſhall not be lawful to appoint any foreigner to be regent; that the preſent nomination of Cardinal Adrian to that office ſhall inſtantly be declared void;

void; that he would not, at his return, bring along with him any Flemings or other ſtrangers; that no foreign troops ſhall, on any pretence whatever, be introduced into the kingdom; that none but natives ſhall be capable of holding any office or benefice either in church or ſtate; that no foreigners ſhall be naturalized; that free quarters ſhall not be granted to ſoldiers, nor to the members of the King's houſehold, for any longer time than ſix days, and that only when the court is in a progreſs; that all the taxes ſhall be reduced to the ſame ſtate they were in at the death of Queen Iſabella; that all alienations of the royal demeſnes or revenues ſince that Queen's death ſhall be reſumed; that all new offices created ſince that period ſhall be aboliſhed; that the ſubſidy granted by the late Cortes in Galicia ſhall not be exacted; that in all future Cortes each city ſhall ſend one repreſentative of the clergy, one of the gentry, and one of the commons, each to be elected by his own order; that the crown ſhall not influence or direct any city with regard to the choice of its repreſentatives; that no member of the Cortes ſhall receive an office or penſion from the King, either for himſelf or for any of his family, under pain of death, and confiſcation of his goods; that each city or community ſhall pay a competent ſalary to its repreſentatives for

his

Book III. his maintenance during his attendance on the Cortes; that the Cortes ſhall aſſemble once in three years at leaſt, whether ſummoned by the King or not, and ſhall then enquire into the obſervation of the articles now agreed upon, and deliberate concerning public affairs; that the rewards which have been given or promiſed to any of the members of the Cortes in Galicia, ſhall be revoked; that no gold, ſilver, or jewels, ſhall, upon pain of death, be ſent out of the kingdom; that judges ſhall have fixed ſalaries aſſigned them, and ſhall not receive any ſhare of the fines and forfeitures of perſons condemned by them; that no grant of the goods of perſons accuſed ſhall be valid, if given before ſentence was pronounced againſt them; that all privileges which the nobles have at any time obtained, to the prejudice of the commons, ſhall be revoked; that the government of cities or towns ſhall not be put into the hands of the nobles; that the lands of the nobles ſhall be ſubject to all public taxes in the ſame manner as thoſe of the commons; that an enquiry be made into the conduct of ſuch as have been entruſted with the management of the royal patrimony ſince the acceſſion of Ferdinand; and if the King do not within thirty days appoint perſons properly qualified for that ſervice, it ſhall be lawful for the Cortes to nominate them; that Indulgences ſhall not be

 preached

preached or difperfed in the kingdom until the caufe of publifhing them be examined and approved of by the Cortes; that all the money arifing from the fale of Indulgences, fhall be faithfully employed in carrying on war againft the Infidels; that fuch prelates as do not refide in their diocefes fix months in the year, fhall forfeit their revenues during the time they are abfent; that the ecclefiaftical judges and their officers fhall not exact greater fees than thofe which are paid in the fecular courts; that the prefent archbifhop of Toledo being a foreigner, be compelled to refign that dignity, which fhall be conferred upon a Caftilian; that the King fhall ratify and hold as good fervice done to him and to the kingdom, all the proceedings of the Junta, and pardon any irregularities which the cities may have committed from an excefs of zeal in a good caufe: That he fhall promife and fwear in the moft folemn manner to obferve all thefe articles, and on no occafion attempt either to elude, or to repeal them; and that he fhall never folicit the Pope or any other prelate to grant him a difpenfation or abfolution from this oath and promife [k].

Book III.

Such were the chief articles prefented by the Junta to their fovereign. As the feudal in-

The fpirit of liberty which it breathed.

[k] Sandov. 206. P. Mart. Ep. 686.

 ftitutions

Book III. ſtitutions in the ſeveral kingdoms of Europe were originally the ſame, the genius of thoſe governments which aroſe from them bore a ſtrong reſemblance to each other, and the regulations which the Caſtilians attempted to eſtabliſh on this occaſion, differ little from thoſe which other nations have laboured to procure in their ſtruggles with their monarchs for liberty. The grievances complained of, and the remedies propoſed by the Engliſh commons in their conteſts with the princes of the houſe of Stuart, particularly reſemble thoſe upon which the Junta now inſiſted. But the principles of liberty ſeem to have been better underſtood at this period, by the Caſtilians, than by any other people in Europe; they had acquired more liberal ideas with reſpect to their own rights and privileges; they had formed more bold and generous ſentiments concerning government; and diſcovered an extent of political knowledge to which the Engliſh themſelves did not attain until more than a century afterwards.

It is not improbable, however, that the ſpirit of reformation among the Caſtilians, hitherto unreſtrained by authority, and emboldened by ſucceſs, became too impetuous, and prompted the Junta to propoſe innovations which, by alarming the other members of the conſtitution,

proved

proved fatal to their cause. The nobles, who, instead of obstructing, had favoured or connived at their proceedings, while they confined their demands of redress to such grievances as had been occasioned by the King's want of experience, and by the imprudence and rapaciousness of his foreign ministers, were filled with indignation when they began to touch the privileges of their order, and plainly saw that the measures of the commons tended no less to break the power of the aristocracy, than to limit the prerogatives of the crown. The resentment which they had conceived on account of Adrian's promotion to the regency, abated considerably upon the Emperor's raising the constable and admiral to joint power with him in that office; and as their pride and dignity were less hurt by suffering the prince to possess an extensive prerogative, than by admitting the high pretensions of the people, they determined to give their sovereign the assistance which he had demanded of them, and began to assemble their vassals for that purpose.

Book III.

Irritates the nobles.

THE Junta, meanwhile, expected with impatience the Emperor's answer to their remonstrance, which they had appointed some of their number to present. The members entrusted with this commission set out immediately for Germany,

The deputies of the Junta dare not present their remonstrance.

Book III. Germany, but having received at different places certain intelligence from court, that they could not venture to appear there without endangering their lives, they ſtopt ſhort in their journey, and acquainted the Junta of the information which had been given them[1]. This excited ſuch violent paſſions as tranſported the whole party beyond all bounds of prudence, or of moderation. That a Caſtilian King ſhould deny his ſubjects acceſs into his preſence, or refuſe to liſten to their humble petitions, was repreſented as an act of tyranny ſo unprecedented and intolerable, that nothing now remained but with arms in their hands to drive away that ravenous band of foreigners which encompaſſed the throne, who after having devoured the wealth of the kingdom, found it neceſſary to prevent the cries of an injured people from reaching the ears of their ſovereign. Many inſiſted warmly on approving a motion which had formerly been made, for depriving Charles, during the life of his mother, of the regal titles and authority, which had been too raſhly conferred upon him from a falſe ſuppoſition of her total inability for government. Some propoſed to provide a proper perſon to aſſiſt her in the adminiſtration of public affairs, by marrying the Queen to the Prince of Calabria, the heir of the Aragoneſe Kings

Violent propoſitions of the Junta.

[1] Sandov. 143.

Kings of Naples, who had been detained in prifon fince the time that Ferdinand had difpoffeffed his anceftors of their crown. All agreed that, as the hopes of obtaining redrefs and fecurity merely by prefenting their requefts to their fovereign, had kept them too long in a ftate of inaction, and prevented them from taking advantage of the unanimity with which the nation declared in their favour, it was now neceffary to collect their whole force, and to exert themfelves with vigour, in oppofing this fatal combination of the King and nobles againft their liberties [m]. Book III.

Take the field.

They foon took the field with twenty thoufand men. Violent difputes arofe concerning the command of this army. Padilla, the darling of the people and foldiers, was the only perfon whom they thought worthy of this honour. But Don Pedro de Giron, the eldeft fon of the Condè de Uruena, a young nobleman of the firft order, having lately joined the commons out of private refentment againft the Emperor, the refpect due to his birth, together with a fecret defire of difappointing Padilla, of whofe popularity many members of the Junta had become jealous, procured him the office of general; though he foon gave them a fatal

[m] P. Mart. Ep. 688.

Book III. proof that he poſſeſſed neither the experience, the abilities, nor the ſteadineſs which that important ſtation required.

The regents and nobles arm.

The regents, meanwhile, appointed Rioſeco as the place of rendezvous for their troops, which, though far inferior to thoſe of the commons in number, excelled them greatly in diſcipline and in valour. They had drawn a conſiderable body of regular and veteran infantry out of Navarre. Their cavalry, which formed the chief ſtrength of their army, conſiſted moſtly of gentlemen accuſtomed to the military life, and animated with the martial ſpirit peculiar to their order in that age. The infantry of the Junta was formed entirely of citizens and mechanics, little acquainted with the uſe of arms. The ſmall body of cavalry which they had been able to raiſe, was compoſed of perſons of ignoble birth, and perfect ſtrangers to the ſervice into which they entered. The character of the generals differed no leſs than that of their troops. The royaliſts were commanded by the Condè de Haro, the conſtable's eldeſt ſon, an officer of great experience, and of diſtinguiſhed abilities.

Imprudence and ill ſucceſs of the general of the Junta.

Giron marched with his army directly to Rioſeco, and ſeizing the villages and paſſes around

around it, hoped that the royalifts would be obliged either to furrender for want of provifions, or to fight with difadvantage before all their troops were affembled. But he had not the abilities, nor his troops the patience and difcipline neceffary for the execution of fuch a fcheme. The Condè de Haro found little difficulty in conducting a confiderable reinforcement through all his pofts into the town; and Giron defpairing of being able to reduce it, advanced fuddenly to Villa-panda, a place belonging to the Conftable, in which the enemy had their chief magazine of provifions. By this ill-judged motion, he left Tordefillas open to the royalifts, whom the Condè de Haro led thither in the night, with the utmoft fecrecy and difpatch; and attacking the town, in which Giron had left no other garrifon than a regiment of priefts raifed by the bifhop of Zamora, he, by break of day, forced his way into it after a defperate refiftance, became mafter of the Queen's perfon, took prifoners many members of the Junta, and recovered the great feal, with the other enfigns of government.

Book III. December 5

By this fatal blow, the Junta loft all the reputation and authority which they derived from feeming to act by the Queen's commands; fuch of the nobles as had hitherto been wavering or undetermined in their choice, now joined the

Book III. regents with all their forces; and an universal consternation seized the partizans of the commons. This was much increased by the suspicions they began to entertain of Giron, whom they loudly accused of having betrayed Tordesillas to the enemy; and though that charge seems to have been destitute of foundation, the success of the royalists being owing to Giron's ill-conduct rather than to his treachery, he so entirely lost credit with his party, that he resigned his commission, and retired to one of his castles [n].

The Junta adhere to their system.

Such members of the Junta as had escaped the enemy's hands at Tordesillas, fled to Valladolid; and as it would have required long time to supply the places of those who were prisoners by a new election, they made choice among themselves of a small number of persons, to whom they committed the supreme direction of affairs. Their army, which grew stronger every day by the arrival of troops from different parts of the kingdom, marched likewise to Valladolid; and Padilla being appointed commander in chief, the spirits of the soldiery revived, and the whole party forgetting the late misfortune, continued to express the same ardent zeal for the liberties of their country, and the

[n] Miscellaneous Tracts by Dr. Mich. Geddes, vol. i 278.

same

same implacable animosity against their oppressors.

Their expedients for raising money.

What they stood most in need of, was money to pay their troops. A great part of the current coin had been carried out of the kingdom by the Flemings; the stated taxes levied in times of peace were inconsiderable; commerce of every kind being interrupted by the war, the sum which they yielded decreased daily; and the Junta were afraid of disgusting the people by burdening them with new impositions, to which, in that age, they were little accustomed. But from this difficulty they were extricated by Donna Maria Pacheco, Padilla's wife, a woman of noble birth, of great abilities, of boundless ambition, and animated with the most ardent zeal in support of the cause of the Junta. She, with a boldness superior to those superstitious fears which often influence her sex, proposed to seize all the rich and magnificent ornaments in the cathedral of Toledo; but lest that action, by its appearance of impiety, might offend the people, she and her retinue marched to the church in solemn procession, in mourning habits, with tears in their eyes, beating their breasts, and falling on their knees, implored the pardon of the saints whose shrines she was about to violate. By this artifice, which

screened

Book III. ſcreened her from the imputation of ſacrilege, and perſuaded the people that neceſſity and zeal for a good cauſe had conſtrained her, though with reluctance, to venture upon this action, ſhe procured a conſiderable ſupply of money for the Junta [o]. The regents, no leſs at a loſs how to maintain their troops, the revenues of the crown having either been diſſipated by the Flemings, or ſeized by the commons, were obliged to take the Queen's jewels, together with the plate belonging to the nobility, and apply them to that purpoſe; and when theſe failed, they obtained a ſmall ſum by way of loan from the King of Portugal [p].

Loſe time in negociations with the nobility.

The nobility diſcovered great unwillingneſs to proceed to extremities with the Junta. They were animated with no leſs hatred than the commons againſt the Flemings; they approved much of ſeveral articles in the remonſtrance; they thought the juncture favourable, not only for redreſſing paſt grievances, but for rendering the conſtitution more perfect and ſecure by new regulations; they were afraid, that while the two orders of which the legiſlature was compoſed, waſted each other's ſtrength by mutual hoſtilities, the crown would riſe to power on the ruin or

[o] Sandov. 308. Dict. de Bayle, Art. Padilla.

[p] P. Mart. Ep. 718.

weakneſs

weakneſs of both, and encroach no leſs on the independence of the nobles, than on the privileges of the commons. To this diſpoſition were owing the frequent overtures of peace which the regents made to the Junta, and the continual negociations they carried on during the progreſs of their military operations. Nor were the terms which they offered unreaſonable; for on condition that the Junta would paſs from a few articles moſt ſubverſive of the royal authority, or inconſiſtent with the rights of the nobility, they engaged to procure the emperor's conſent to their other demands, which, if he, through the influence of evil counſellors, ſhould refuſe, ſeveral of the nobles promiſed to join with them in order to extort it[q]. Such diviſions, however, prevailed among the members of the Junta, as prevented their deliberating calmly, or judging with prudence. Several of the cities which had entered into the confederacy, were filled with that mean jealouſy and diſtruſt of each other, which rivalſhip in commerce or in grandeur is apt to inſpire; the conſtable, by his influence and promiſes, had prevailed on the inhabitants of Burgos to abandon the Junta, and other noblemen had ſhaken the fidelity of ſome of the leſſer cities; no perſon had ariſen among the commons of ſuch ſuperior abilities or elevation

[q] P. Mart. Ep. 69·, 713. Geddes's Tracts, i. 261.

Book III. of mind, as to require the direction of their affairs; Padilla, their general, was a man of popular qualities, but diſtruſted for that reaſon by thoſe of higheſt rank who adhered to the Junta; the conduct of Giron led the people to view with ſuſpicion every perſon of noble birth who joined their party; ſo that the ſtrongeſt marks of irreſolution, mutual diſtruſt, and mediocrity of genius, appeared in all their proceedings at this time. After many conſultations held concerning the terms propoſed by the regents, they ſuffered themſelves to be ſo carried away by reſentment againſt the nobility, that rejecting all thoughts of accommodation, they threatened to ſtrip them of the crown-lands, which they or their anceſtors had uſurped, and to re-annex theſe to the royal domain. Upon this prepoſterous ſcheme, which would at once have annihilated all the liberties for which they had been ſtruggling, by rendering the Kings of Caſtile abſolute and independent on their ſubjects, they were ſo intent, that they now exclaimed with leſs vehemence againſt the exactions of the foreign miniſters, than againſt the immenſe power and wealth of the nobles, and ſeemed to hope that they might make peace with Charles, by offering to enrich him with their ſpoils.

THE

Elated with their fucceſs in ſome ſmall rencounters.

The ſucceſs which Padilla had met with in ſeveral ſmall encounters, and in reducing ſome inconſiderable towns, helped to precipitate the members of the Junta into this meaſure, filling them with ſuch confidence in the valour of their troops, that they hoped for an eaſy victory over the royaliſts. Padilla, that his army might not remain inactive, while fluſhed with good fortune, laid ſiege to Torrelobaton, a place of greater ſtrength and importance than any that he had hitherto attacked, and which was defended by a ſufficient garriſon; and though the beſieged made a deſperate reſiſtance, and the admiral attempted to relieve them, he took the town by ſtorm, and gave it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers. If he had marched inſtantly with his victorious army to Tordeſillas, the headquarters of the royaliſts, he could hardly have failed of making an effectual impreſſion on their troops, ſurprized at the briſkneſs of his operations, and far from being of ſufficient ſtrength to give him battle. But the fickleneſs and imprudence of the Junta prevented his taking this ſtep. Incapable alike of carrying on war, or of making peace, they liſtened again to overtures of accommodation, and even agreed to a ſhort ſuſpenſion of arms. This negociation terminated in nothing; but while it was carrying on, many of Padilla's ſoldiers, unacquainted with the re-

March 3, 1521.

Imprudence of their conduct.

ſtraints

Book III. ftraints of difcipline, went off with the booty which they had got at Torrelobaton; and others, wearied out by the unufual length of the campaign, deferted [r]. The conftable too had leifure to affemble his forces at Burgos, and to prepare every thing for marching; and as foon as the truce expired, he effected a junction with the Condè de Haro, in fpite of all Padilla's efforts to prevent it. They advanced immediately towards Torrelobaton, and Padilla finding the number of his troops fo diminifhed that he durft not rifk a battle, attempted to retreat to Toro, which if he could have accomplifhed, the invafion of Navarre at that juncture by the French, and the neceffity which the regents muft have been under of detaching men to that kingdom, might have faved him from danger. But Haro, fenfible how fatal the confequences would be of fuffering him to efcape, marched with fuch rapidity at the head of his cavalry, that he came up with him near Villalar, and without waiting for his infantry, advanced to the attack. Padilla's army, fatigued and difheartened by their precipitant retreat, which they could not diftinguifh from a flight, happened at that time to be paffing over a ploughed field, on which fuch a violent rain had fallen, that the foldiers funk almoft to the knees at every ftep, and remained

The nobles attack the army of the Junta, April 23.

[r] Sandov. 336.

exposed to the fire of some field pieces which the royalists had brought along with them. All these circumstances so disconcerted and intimidated raw soldiers, that without facing the enemy, or making any resistance, they fled in the utmost confusion. Padilla exerted himself with extraordinary courage and activity in order to rally them, though in vain; fear rendering them deaf both to their threats and intreaties: Upon which, finding matters irretrievable, and resolving not to survive the disgrace of that day, and the ruin of his party, he rushed into the thickest of the enemy; but being wounded and dismounted, he was taken prisoner. His principal officers shared the same fate; the common soldiers were allowed to depart unhurt, the nobles being too generous to kill men who threw down their arms[s].

Book III. and defeat it.

The resentment of his enemies did not suffer Padilla to linger long in expectation of what should befal him. Next day he was condemned to lose his head, though without any regular trial, the notoriety of the crime being supposed sufficient to supersede the formality of a legal

[s] Sandov. 345, &c. P. Mart. Ep. 720. Miniana. Contin. p. 26. Epitome de la vida y Hechos del Emper. Carlos V. per D. Juan. Anton. de Vera y Zuniga, 4to. Madr. 1627. p. 19.

process.

Book III.

Padilla, their general, put to death.

process. He was led inſtantly to execution, together with Don John Bravo, and Don Francis Maldonada, the former commander of the Segovians, and the latter of the troops of Salamanca. Padilla viewed the approach of death with calm but undaunted fortitude; and when Bravo, his fellow-ſufferer, expreſſed ſome indignation at hearing himſelf proclaimed a traitor, he checked him, by obſerving, "That yeſterday was the time to have diſplayed the ſpirit of gentlemen, this day to die with the meekneſs of Chriſtians." Being permitted to write to his wife and to the community of Toledo, the place of his nativity, he addreſſed the former with a manly and virtuous tenderneſs, and the latter with the exultation natural to one who conſidered himſelf as a martyr for the liberties of his country[t]. After this,

[t] The ſtrain of theſe letters is ſo eloquent and high-ſpirited, that I have tranſlated them for the entertainment of my readers.

The Letter of Don John Padilla to his Wife.

Señora,

"If your grief did not afflict me more than my own death, I ſhould deem myſelf perfectly happy. For the end of life being certain to all men, the Almighty confers a mark of diſtinguiſhing favour upon that perſon, for whom he appoints a death ſuch as mine, which, though lamented by many, is nevertheleſs acceptable unto him. It would require more time than I now have, to write any thing that could

this, he submitted quietly to his fate. Most of the Spanish historians, accustomed to ideas of government, and of regal power, very different from those upon which he acted, have been so eager to testify their disapprobation of the cause in which he was engaged, that they have neglected, or have been afraid to do justice to his virtues; and by blackening his memory, have endeavoured to deprive him of that pity, which is seldom denied to illustrious sufferers. BOOK III.

THE

could afford you consolation. That my enemies will not grant me, nor do I wish to delay the reception of that crown which I hope to enjoy. You may bewail your own loss, but not my death, which, being so honourable, ought not to be lamented by any. My soul, for nothing else is left to me, I bequeath to you. You will receive it, as the thing in this world which you valued most. I do not write to my father Pero Lopez, because I dare not; for though I have shewn myself to be his son in daring to lose my life, I have not been the heir of his good fortune. I will not attempt to say any thing more, that I may not tire the executioner, who waits for me, and that I may not excite a suspicion, that, in order to prolong my life, I lengthen out my letter. My servant Sossa, an eye-witness, and to whom I have communicated my most secret thoughts, will inform you of what I cannot now write; and thus I rest, expecting the instrument of your grief, and of my deliverance."

His Letter to the City of Toledo.

"To thee, the crown of Spain, and light of the whole world, free from the time of the mighty Goths; to thee, who by shedding the blood of strangers, as well as thy own

Book III. Ruin of the party.

The victory at Villalar proved as decisive as it was compleat. Valladolid, the most zealous of all the associated cities, opened its gates immediately to the conquerors, and being treated with great clemency by the regents, Medina del Campo, Segovia, and many other cities followed its example. This sudden dissolution of a confederacy, formed not upon slight disgusts, or upon trifling motives, into which the whole body of the people had entered, and which had been allowed time to acquire some degree of

blood, hast recovered liberty for thyself, and thy neighbouring cities, Thy legitimate son Juan de Padilla gives information, how by the blood of his body, thy ancient victories are to be refreshed. If fate hath not permitted my actions to be placed among your successful and celebrated exploits, the fault hath been in my ill fortune, not in my good will. This I request of thee as of a mother, to accept, since God hath given me nothing more to lose for thy sake, than that which I am now to relinquish. I am more solicitous about thy good opinion than about my own life. The shiftings of fortune, which never stands still, are many. But this I see with infinite consolation, that I, the least of thy children, suffer death for thee; and that thou hast nursed at thy breasts such as may take vengeance for my wrongs. Many tongues will relate the manner of my death, of which I am still ignorant, though I know it to be near. My end will testify what was my desire. My soul I recommend to thee as to the patroness of Christianity. Of my body I say nothing, for it is not mine. I can write nothing more, for at this very moment I feel the knife at my throat with greater dread of thy displeasure, than apprehension of my own pain." Sandov. Hist. vol. i. p. 478.

order and confiftence by eftablifhing a regular plan of government, is the ftrongeft proof of the inability of its leaders, or of fome fecret difcord reigning among its members. Though part of the army by which they had been fubdued, was obliged, a few days after the battle, to march towards Navarre, in order to check the progrefs of the French in that kingdom, nothing could prevail on the dejected commons of Caftile to take arms again, and to embrace fuch a favourable opportunity of acquiring thofe rights and privileges for which they had appeared fo zealous. The city of Toledo alone, animated by Donna Maria Pacheco, Padilla's widow, who, inftead of bewailing her hufband with a womanifh forrow, prepared to revenge his death, and to profecute that caufe in defence of which he had fuffered, muft be excepted. Refpect for her fex, or admiration of her courage and abilities, as well as fympathy with her misfortunes, and veneration for the memory of her hufband, fecured her the fame afcendant over the people which he had poffeffed. The prudence and vigour with which fhe acted, juftified that confidence they placed in her. She wrote to the French general in Navarre, encouraging him to invade Caftile by the offer of powerful affiftance. She endeavoured by her letters and emiffaries to revive the fpirit and hopes of other

Book III.

Padilla's wife defends Toledo with great fpirit.

 cities,

Book III. cities. She raiſed ſoldiers, and exacted a great ſum from the clergy belonging to the cathedral, to defray the expence of keeping them on foot [u]. She employed every artifice that could intereſt or inflame the populace. For this purpoſe ſhe ordered crucifixes to be uſed by her troops inſtead of colours, as if they had been at war with infidels, and enemies of religion; ſhe marched through the ſtreets of Toledo with her ſon, a young child, clad in deep mourning, ſeated on a mule, having a ſtandard carried before him, repreſenting the manner of his father's execution [x]. By all theſe means ſhe kept the minds of the people in ſuch perpetual agitation as prevented their paſſions from ſubſiding, and rendered them inſenſible of the dangers to which they were expoſed, by ſtanding alone in oppoſition to the royal authority. While the army was employed in Navarre, the Regents were unable to attempt the reduction of Toledo by force; and all their endeavours either to diminiſh Donna Maria's credit with the people, or to gain her by large promiſes and the ſolicitations of her brother the Marquis de Mondeiar, proved ineffectual. Upon the expulſion of the French out of Navarre, part of the army returned into Caſtile, and inveſted Toledo. Even this made no impreſſion on the intrepid and obſtinate courage of Donna Maria. She de-

[u] P. Mart. Ep. 727. [x] Sandov. 375.

ſended the town with vigour, her troops beat the Royaliſts in ſeveral ſallies, and no progreſs was made towards reducing the place, until the clergy, whom ſhe had highly offended by invading their property, ceaſed to ſupport her. As ſoon as they received information of the death of William de Croy archbiſhop of Toledo, whoſe poſſeſſion of that ſee was their chief grievance, and that the Emperor had named a Caſtilian to ſucceed him, they openly turned againſt her, and perſuaded the people that ſhe had acquired ſuch influence over them by the force of enchantments, that ſhe was aſſiſted by a familiar demon which attended her in the form of a Negro-maid, and that by its ſuggeſtions ſhe regulated every part of her conduct[y]. The credulous multitude, whom their impatience of a long blockade, and deſpair of obtaining ſuccours either from the cities formerly in confederacy with them, or from the French, rendered deſirous of peace, took arms againſt her, and driving her out of the city, ſurrendered it to the Royaliſts. She retired to the citadel, which ſhe defended with amazing fortitude four months longer; and when reduced to the laſt extremities, ſhe made her eſcape in diſguiſe, and fled to Portugal, where ſhe had many relations[z].

October 26.

Feb. 10, 1522.

y P. Mart. Ep. 727.

z Sandov. 375. P. Mart. Ep. 754. Ferrer. viii. 563.

Book III.

Fatal effects of this civil war.

Upon her flight, the citadel surrendered. Tranquillity was re-eſtabliſhed in Caſtile; and this bold attempt of the commons, like all unſucceſsful inſurrections, contributed to confirm and extend the power of the crown, which it was intended to moderate and abridge. The Cortes ſtill continued to make a part of the Caſtilian conſtitution, and were ſummoned to meet whenever the King ſtood in need of money; but inſtead of adhering to their ancient and cautious form of examining and redreſſing public grievances, before they proceeded to grant any ſupply, the more courtly cuſtom of voting a donative in the firſt place was introduced, and the Sovereign having obtained all that he wanted, never allowed them to enter into any inquiry, or to attempt any reformation injurious to his authority. The privileges which the cities had enjoyed were gradually circumſcribed or aboliſhed; their commerce began from this period to decline; and becoming leſs wealthy and leſs populous, they loſt that power and influence which they had acquired in the Cortes.

The progreſs of the inſurrections in Valencia.

While Caſtile was expoſed to the calamities of civil war, the kingdom of Valencia was torn by inteſtine commotions ſtill more violent. The aſſociation which had been formed in the city of Valencia in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty, and which was diſtinguiſhed

by

by the name of the Germanada, continued to Book III.
ſubſiſt after the Emperor's departure from Spain. The members of it, upon pretext of defending the coaſts againſt the deſcents of the Corſairs of Barbary, and under ſanction of that permiſſion, which Charles had raſhly granted them, refuſed to lay down their arms. But as the grievances, which the Valencians aimed at redreſſing, proceeded from the arrogance and exactions of the nobility, rather than from any unwarrantable exerciſe of the royal prerogative, their reſentment turned chiefly againſt the former. As ſoon as they were allowed the uſe of arms, and became conſcious of their own ſtrength, they grew impatient to take vengeance of their oppreſſors. They drove the nobles out of moſt of the cities, plundered their houſes, waſted their lands, and aſſaulted their caſtles. They then proceeded to elect thirteen perſons, one from each company of tradeſmen eſtabliſhed in Valencia, and committed the adminiſtration of government to them, under pretext that they would reform the laws, eſtabliſh one uniform mode of diſpenſing juſtice without partiality, or regard to the diſtinction of ranks, and thus reſtore men to ſome degree of their original equality.

The nobles were obliged to take arms in ſelf-defence. Hoſtilities began, and were carried

on with all the rancour, with which resentment at oppression inspired the one party, and the idea of insulted dignity animated the other. As no person of honourable birth, or of liberal education joined the Germanada, the councils as well as troops of the confederacy were conducted by low mechanics, who acquired the confidence of an enraged multitude chiefly by the fierceness of their zeal, and the extravagance of their proceedings. Among such men, the laws introduced in civilized nations, in order to restrain or moderate the violence of war, were unknown or despised; and they committed the wildest acts of cruelty and outrage.

The Emperor occupied with suppressing the insurrection in Castile, which more immediately threatened the subversion of his power and prerogative, was unable to give much attention to the tumults in Valencia, and left the nobility of that kingdom to fight their own battles. His viceroy, the Condè de Melito, had the supreme command of the forces which the nobles raised among their vassals. The Germanada carried on the war during the years one thousand five hundred and twenty and twenty-one, with a more persevering courage, than could have been expected from a body so tumultuary, under the conduct of such leaders. They defeated

feated the nobility in ſeveral actions, which, though not conſiderable, were extremely ſharp. They repulſed them in their attempts to reduce different towns. But the nobles, by their ſuperior ſkill in war, and at the head of troops more accuſtomed to ſervice, gained the advantage in moſt of the rencounters. At length, they were joined by a body of Caſtilian cavalry, which the regents diſpatched towards Valencia, ſoon after their victory over Padilla at Villalar, and by their aſſiſtance they acquired ſuch ſuperiority, that they entirely broke and ruined the Germanada. The leaders of the party were put to death, almoſt without any formality of legal trial, and ſuffered ſuch cruel puniſhments, as the ſenſe of recent injuries prompted the nobles to inflict. The government of Valencia was re-eſtabliſhed in its ancient form [a].

Appearances of diſaffection in Aragon.

In Aragon, violent ſymptoms of the ſame ſpirit of diſaffection and mutiny, which reigned in the other kingdoms of Spain, began to appear; but by the prudent conduct of the viceroy, Don John de Lanuza, they were ſo far compoſed, as to prevent their breaking out into any open inſurrection. But in the iſland of Ma-

[a] Argenſola Anales de Aragon, cap. 75. 90. 99. 118. Sayas Anales de Aragon, cap. 5. 12. &c. P. Mart. Ep lib. xxxiii. & xxxiv. paſſim. Ferrer. Hiſt. d'Eſpagne, viii. 542. 564, &c.

jorca,

Book III. jorca, which was annexed to the crown of Aragon, the ſame cauſes that had excited the commotions in Valencia, produced effects no leſs violent. The people, impatient of the hardſhips which they endured under the rigid juriſdiction of the nobility, took arms in a tumultuary manner; depoſed their viceroy; drove him out of the iſland; and maſſacred every gentleman who was ſo unfortunate as to fall into their hands. The obſtinacy with which the people of Majorca perſiſted in their rebellion, was equal to the rage with which they began it. Many and vigorous efforts were requiſite in order to reduce them to obedience; and tranquillity was re-eſtabliſhed in every part of Spain before they could be brought to ſubmit to their ſovereign [b].

Formidable inſurrection in Majorca.

March 19, 1521.

Cauſes which prevented the union of the malecontents.

While the ſpirit of diſaffection was ſo general among the Spaniards, and ſo many cauſes concurred in precipitating them into ſuch violent meaſures, in order to obtain the redreſs of their grievances, it may appear ſtrange, that the malecontents in the different kingdoms ſhould have carried on their operations without any mutual concert, or even any intercourſe with

[b] Argenſola Anales de Aragon, c. 113. Ferrer. Hiſt. viii. 542. Sayas Anales de Aragon, cap. 7. 11. 14. 76. 81. Ferreras Hiſt. d'Eſpagne, viii. 579, &c. 609.

each

each other. By uniting their councils and arms, they might have acted both with greater force, and with more effect. The appearance of a national confederacy would have rendered it no less respectable among the people, than formidable to the crown; and the Emperor, unable to resist such a combination, must have complied with any terms which the members of it thought fit to prescribe. Many things, however, prevented the Spaniards from forming themselves into one body, and pursuing common measures. The people of the different kingdoms in Spain, though they were become the subjects of the same sovereign, retained, in full force, their national antipathy to each other. The remembrance of their ancient rivalship and hostilities was still recent, and the sense of reciprocal injuries so intire, as to be incompatible with their acting with confidence and concert. Each nation chose rather to depend on its own efforts, and to maintain the struggle alone, than to implore the aid of neighbours, whom they distrusted and hated. At the same time, the forms of government in the several kingdoms of Spain were so different, and the grievances of which they complained, as well as the alterations and amendments which they attempted to introduce, so various, that it was not easy to bring them to unite in any common plan. To

this

BOOK III. this disunion Charles was indebted for the preservation of his Spanish crowns; and while each of the kingdoms followed separate measures, all of them were obliged at last to conform to the will of their sovereign.

The Emperor's prudent and generous behaviour towards the malecontents.

THE arrival of the Emperor in Spain filled his subjects who had been in arms against him with deep apprehensions; from which he soon delivered them by an act of clemency, no less prudent than generous. After a rebellion so general, scarcely twenty persons, among so many criminals obnoxious to the law, had been punished capitally in Castile. Though strongly solicited by his council, Charles refused to shed any more blood by the hands of the executioner; and published a general pardon, extending to all crimes committed since the commencement of the insurrections, from which only fourscore were excepted. Even these he seems to have named, rather with an intention to intimidate others, than from any inclination to seize them; for when an officious courtier offered to inform him where one of the most considerable among them was concealed, he avoided it by a good-natured pleasantry; "Go," says he, "I have now no reason to be afraid of that man, but he has some cause to keep at a distance from me, and you would be better employed in telling him that I am here, than in acquainting

Oct. 28.

acquainting me with the place of his retreat [c]." Book III. By this appearance of magnanimity, as well as by his care to avoid every thing which had disgusted the Castilians during his former residence among them; by his address in assuming their manners, in speaking their language, and in complying with all their humours and customs, he acquired an ascendant over them which hardly any of their native monarchs had ever attained, and brought them to support him in all his enterprizes with a zeal and valour to which he owed much of his success and grandeur [d].

Adrian sets out for Rome, and his ill reception there.

About the time that Charles landed in Spain, Adrian set out for Italy to take possession of his new dignity. But though the Roman people longed extremely for his arrival, they could not, on his first appearance, conceal their surprize and disappointment. After being accustomed to the princely magnificence of Julius, and the elegant splendour of Leo, they beheld with contempt an old man of an humble deportment, of austere manners, an enemy to pomp, destitute of taste in the arts, and unadorned with any of the external accomplishments which the

[c] Sandov. 377, &c. Vida del. Emper. Carlos por Don Juan Anton. de Vera y Zuniga. p. 30.

[d] Ulloa Vita de Carlo V. p. 85.

vulgar

Book III. vulgar expect in thoſe raiſed to eminent ſtations [e]. Nor did his political views and maxims ſeem leſs ſtrange and aſtoniſhing to the pontifical miniſters. He acknowledged and bewailed the corruptions which abounded in the church, as well as in the court of Rome, and prepared to reform both; he diſcovered no intention of aggrandizing his family; he even ſcrupled at retaining ſuch territories as ſome of his predeceſſors had acquired by violence or fraud, rather than by any legal title, and for that reaſon he inveſted Franceſco Maria de Roverè anew in the dutchy of Urbino, of which Leo had ſtripped him, and ſurrendered to the duke of Ferrara ſeveral places wreſted from him by the church [f]. To men little habituated to ſee princes regulate their conduct by the maxims of morality and the principles of juſtice, theſe actions of the new Pope appeared inconteſtible proofs of his weakneſs or inexperience; and Adrian, who was a perfect ſtranger to the complex and intricate ſyſtem of Italian politics, and who could place no confidence in perſons whoſe ſubtle refinements in buſineſs ſuited ſo ill with his natural ſimplicity and candour, being often embarraſſed and irreſolute in his deliberations,

[e] Guic. l. xv. 238. Jovii Vita Adriani, 117. Bellefor. Epitr. des Princ. 84. [f] Guic. lib. xv. 240.

the

the opinion of his incapacity daily increafed, until both his perfon and government became objects of ridicule among his fubjects [g]. Book III.

Adrian, though devoted to the Emperor, endeavoured to affume the impartiality which became the common father of Chriftendom, and laboured to reconcile the contending princes, that they might unite in a league againft Solyman, whofe conqueft of Rhodes rendered him more formidable than ever to Europe [h]. But this was an undertaking far beyond his abilities. To examine fuch a variety of pretenfions, to adjuft fuch a number of interfering interefts, to extinguifh the paffions which ambition, emulation, and mutual injuries had kindled, to bring fo many hoftile powers to purfue the fame fcheme with unanimity and vigour, required not only uprightnefs of intentions, but a great fuperiority both of underftanding and addrefs. He endeavours to reftore peace in Europe.

The Italian ftates were no lefs defirous of peace than the Pope. The Imperial army under Colonna was ftill kept on foot, but as the Emperor's revenues in Spain, in Naples, and in the Low-Countries, were either exhaufted, or

[g] Jov. Vita Adr. 118. P. Mart. Ep. 774. Rufcelli Letters de Princ. vol. i. 87, 96, 101.

[h] Bellefor. Epitr. p. 86.

applied

Book III. applied to ſome other purpoſe, it depended entirely for pay and ſubſiſtence on the Italians. A great part of it was quartered in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and monthly contributions were levied upon the Florentines, the Milaneſe, the Genoeſe, and Luccheſe, by the viceroy of Naples; and though all exclaimed againſt ſuch oppreſſion, and were impatient to be delivered from it, the dread of worſe conſequences from the rage of the army, or the reſentment of the Emperor, obliged them to ſubmit [i].

1523. A new league againſt the French King.

So much regard, however, was paid to the Pope's exhortations, and to a bull which he iſſued requiring all Chriſtian princes to conſent to a truce for three years, that the Imperial, the French, and Engliſh ambaſſadors at Rome were empowered to treat of that matter; but while they waſted their time in fruitleſs negociations, their maſters continued their preparations for war. The Venetians, who had hitherto adhered with great firmneſs to their alliance with Francis, being now convinced that his affairs in Italy were in a deſperate ſituation, entered into a league againſt him with the Emperor; to which Adrian, at the inſtigation of his countryman and friend Charles de Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, who perſuaded him that the only obſtacles

June 28.

[i] Guic. l. xv. 238.

to peace arose from the ambition of the French King, soon after acceded. The other Italian states followed their example; and Francis was left, without a single ally, to resist the efforts of so many enemies, whose armies threatened, and whose territories encompassed, his dominions on every side [k].

Book III. 1523.

Francis's vigorous measures in opposition to it.

The dread of this powerful confederacy, it was thought, would have obliged Francis to keep wholly on the defensive, or at least have prevented his entertaining any thoughts of marching into Italy. But it was the character of that prince, too apt to become remiss, and even negligent on ordinary occasions, to rouze at the approach of danger, and not only to encounter it with spirit and intrepidity, qualities which never forsook him, but to provide against it with diligence and industry. Before his enemies were ready to execute any of their schemes, Francis had assembled a numerous army. His authority over his own subjects was far greater than that which Charles or Henry possessed over theirs. They depended on their parliaments for money, which was usually granted them in small sums, very slowly, and with much reluctance. The taxes he could impose were more considerable, and levied with greater dis-

[k] Guic. l. xv. 241, 248.

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patch; ſo that on this, as well as on other occaſions, his army was in the field while they were deviſing ways and means for raiſing theirs. Senſible of this advantage, Francis hoped to diſconcert all the Emperor's ſchemes by marching in perſon into the Milaneſe; and this bold meaſure, the more formidable, becauſe unexpected, could ſcarcely have failed of producing that effect. The vanguard of his army had already reached Lyons, and he himſelf was haſtening after it with the ſecond diviſion of his troops, when the diſcovery of a domeſtic conſpiracy which threatened the ruin of the kingdom, obliged him to ſtop ſhort, and to alter his meaſures.

Suſpended upon the diſcovery of the conſtable Bourbon's conſpiracy.

His character.

The author of this dangerous plot was Charles duke of Bourbon, lord high conſtable, whoſe noble birth, vaſt fortune, and high office, raiſed him to be the moſt powerful ſubject in France, as his great talents, equally ſuited to the field or the council, and his ſignal ſervices to the crown rendered him the moſt illuſtrious and deſerving. The near reſemblance between the King and him in many of their qualities, both being fond of war, and ambitious to excel in manly exerciſes, as well as their equality in age, and their proximity of blood, ought naturally to have ſecured him a conſiderable ſhare in that

Monarch's favour. But unhappily Louiſe, the King's mother, had contracted a violent averſion to the houſe of Bourbon, for no better reaſon than becauſe Anne of Bretagne, the Queen of Louis the Twelfth, with whom ſhe lived in perpetual enmity, diſcovered a peculiar attachment to that branch of the royal family; and ſhe had taught her ſon, who was too ſuſceptible of any impreſſion which ſhe gave him, to view all the conſtable's actions with a mean and unbecoming jealouſy. His diſtinguiſhed merit at the battle of Marignano had not been ſufficiently rewarded; he had been recalled from the government of Milan upon very frivolous pretences, and had met with a cold reception, which his prudent conduct in that difficult ſtation did not deſerve; the payment of his penſions had been ſuſpended without any good cauſe; and during the campaign of one thouſand five hundred and twenty-one, the King, as has already been related, had affronted him in preſence of the whole army, by giving the command of the van to the duke of Alençon. The conſtable, at firſt, bore theſe indignities with greater moderation than could have been expected from an high-ſpirited Prince, conſcious of what was due to his rank, and to his ſervices. Such a multiplicity of injuries, however, ex-

Book III. 1523. The cauſes of his diſaffection.

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haufted his patience; and infpiring him with thoughts of revenge, he retired from court, and began to hold a fecret correfpondence with fome of the Emperor's minifters.

About that time the dutchefs of Bourbon happened to die without leaving any children; and Louife, of a difpofition no lefs amorous than vindictive, and ftill fufceptible of the tender paffions at the age of forty-fix, began to view the Conftable, a Prince as amiable as he was accomplifhed, with other eyes; and notwithftanding the great difparity of their years, fhe formed the fcheme of marrying him. Bourbon, who might have expected every thing to which an ambitious mind can afpire, from the doting fondnefs of a woman who governed her fon and the kingdom, being incapable either of imitating the Queen in her fudden tranfition from hatred to love, or of diffembling fo meanly as to pretend affection for one who had perfecuted him fo long with unprovoked malice, not only rejected the match, but embittered his refufal by fome fevere raillery on Louife's perfon and character. She finding herfelf not only contemned, but infulted, her difappointed love turned into hatred, and fince fhe could not marry, fhe refolved to ruin Bourbon.

For

For this purpose she consulted with the chancellor du Prat, a man, who by a base prostitution of great talents and of superior skill in his profession, had risen to that high office. By his advice a law-suit was commenced against the Constable, for the whole estate belonging to the house of Bourbon. Part of it was claimed in the King's name, as having fallen to the crown; part in that of Louise, as the nearest heir in blood of the deceased Dutchess. Both these claims were equally destitute of any foundation in justice; but Louise, by her solicitations and authority, and Du Prat, by employing all the artifices and chicanery of law, prevailed on the judges to order the estate to be sequestred. This unjust decision drove the Constable to despair, and to measures which despair alone could have dictated. He renewed his intrigues in the Imperial court, and flattering himself that the injuries which he had suffered would justify his having recourse to any means in order to obtain revenge, he offered to transfer his allegiance from his natural sovereign to the Emperor, and to assist him in the conquest of France. Charles, as well as the King of England, to whom the secret was communicated[1], expecting prodigious advantages from his revolt, were ready to receive him with open arms, and spared neither promises nor allurements that

His secret negociations with the Emperor.

[1] Rymer's Fœder. xiii. 794.

Book III. 1523. might help to confirm him in his resolution. The Emperor offered him in marriage his sister Eleanor, the widow of the King of Portugal, with a vast portion. He was included as a principal in the treaty between Charles and Henry. The counties of Provence and Dauphinè were to be settled on him, with the title of King. The Emperor engaged to enter France by the Pyrenees, and Henry, supported by the Flemings, to invade Picardy; while twelve thousand Germans, levied at their common charge, were to penetrate into Burgundy, and to act in concert with Bourbon, who undertook to raise six thousand men among his friends and vassals in the heart of the kingdom. The execution of this deep-laid and dangerous plot was suspended, until the King should cross the Alps with the only army capable of defending his dominions; and as he was far advanced in his march for that purpose, France stood on the brink of destruction [m].

Discovered. HAPPILY for that kingdom, a negociation which had now been carrying on for several months, though conducted with the most profound secrecy, and communicated only to a few chosen confidents, could not altogether escape the observation of the rest of the Con-

[m] Thuani Hist. lib. i. c. 10. Heuter. Rer. Austr. lib. viii. c. 18. p. 207.

stable's

ſtable's numerous retainers, rendered more inquiſitive by finding that they were diſtruſted. Two of theſe gave the King ſome intimation of a myſterious correſpondence between their maſter and the Count de Roeux, a Flemiſh nobleman of great confidence with the Emperor. Francis, who could not bring himſelf to ſuſpect that the firſt prince of the blood would be ſo baſe as to betray the kingdom to its enemies, immediately repaired to Moulins, where the Conſtable was in bed, feigning indiſpoſition, that he might not be obliged to accompany the King into Italy, and acquainted him of the intelligence which he had received. Bourbon, with great ſolemnity, and the moſt impoſing affectation of ingenuity and candour, aſſerted his own innocence; and as his health, he ſaid, was now more confirmed, he promiſed to join the army within a few days. Francis, open and candid himſelf, and too apt to be deceived by the appearance of thoſe virtues in others, gave ſuch credit to what he ſaid, that he refuſed to arreſt him, although adviſed to take that precaution by his wiſeſt counſellors, and as if the danger had been over, he continued his march towards Lyons. The Conſtable ſet out ſoon after, ſeemingly with an intention to follow him; but turning ſuddenly to the left he croſſed the Rhone, and after infinite fatigues and perils, eſcaped all the parties which

Book III. 1523.

September.

Flies to Italy.

Book III. 1523. the King, ſenſible too late of his credulity, ſent out to intercept him, and reached Italy in ſafety [n].

Francis took every poſſible precaution to prevent the bad effects of the irreparable error which he had committed. He put garriſons in all the places of ſtrength in the Conſtable's territories. He ſeized all the gentlemen whom he could ſuſpect of being his aſſociates; and as he had not hitherto diſcovered the whole extent of the conſpirator's ſchemes, nor knew how far the infection had ſpread among his ſubjects, he was afraid that his abſence might encourage them to make ſome deſperate attempt, and for that reaſon relinquiſhed his intention of leading his army in perſon into Italy.

French invade the Milaneſe.

He did not, however, abandon his deſign on the Milaneſe; but appointed admiral Bonnivet to take the ſupreme command in his ſtead, and to march into that country with an army thirty thouſand ſtrong. Bonnivet did not owe this preferment to his abilities as a general; for of all the talents requiſite to form a great commander, he poſſeſſed only perſonal courage, the loweſt and the moſt common. But he was the

[n] Mem. de Bellay, p. 64, &c. Paſquier Recherches de la France, p. 481.

moſt

most accomplished gentleman in the French court, of agreeable manners, an insinuating address, and a sprightly conversation; and Francis, who lived in great familiarity with his courtiers, was so charmed with these qualities, that he honoured him, on all occasions, with the most partial and distinguishing marks of his favour. He was, besides, the implacable enemy of Bourbon; and as the King hardly knew whom to trust at that juncture, he thought the chief command could be lodged no where so safely as in his hands.

Colonna, who was entrusted with the defence of the Milanese, his own conquest, was in no condition to resist such a formidable army. He was destitute of money sufficient to pay his troops, which were reduced to a small number by sickness or desertion, and had, for that reason, been obliged to neglect every precaution necessary for the security of the country. The only plan which he formed was to defend the passage of the river Tessino against the French; and as if he had forgotten how easily he himself had disconcerted a similar scheme formed by Lautrec, he promised with great confidence on its being effectual. But in spite of all his caution, it succeeded no better with him than with Lautrec. Bonnivet passed the river without loss, at a ford

Their ill conduct.

which

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

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which had been neglected, and the Imperialists retired to Milan, preparing to abandon the town as soon as the French should appear before it. By an unaccountable negligence, which Guicciardini imputes to infatuation [o], Bonnivet did not advance for three or four days, and lost the opportunity with which his good fortune presented him. The citizens recovered from their consternation: Colonna, still active at the age of fourscore, and Moronè, whose enmity to France was indefatigable, were employed night and day in repairing the fortifications, in amassing provisions, in collecting troops from every quarter; and by the time the French approached, had put the city in a condition to stand a siege. Bonnivet, after some fruitless attempts on the town, which harassed his own troops more than the enemy, was obliged, by the inclemency of the season, to retire into winter-quarters.

Death of Adrian VI.

During these transactions, Pope Adrian died; an event so much to the satisfaction of the Roman people, whose hatred or contempt of him augmented every day, that the night after his decease, they adorned the door of his chief physician's house with garlands, adding this inscription, TO THE DELIVERER OF HIS COUNTRY [p]. The Cardinal de Medici

[o] Guic. lib. xv. 254.

[p] Jovii Vit. Adr. 127.

instantly

instantly renewed his pretensions to the papal dignity, and entered the conclave with high expectations on his own part, and a general opinion of the people that they would be successful. But though supported by the Imperial faction, possessed of great personal interest, and capable of all the artifices, refinements, and corruption, which reign in those assemblies, the obstinacy and intrigues of his rivals protracted the conclave to the unusual length of fifty days. The address and perseverance of the Cardinal at last surmounted every obstacle. He was raised to the head of the church, and assumed the government of it by the name of Clement VII. The choice was universally approved of. High expectations were conceived of a Pope, whose great talents, and long experience in business, seemed to qualify him no less for defending the spiritual interests of the church, exposed to imminent danger by the progress of Luther's opinions, than for conducting its political operations with the prudence requisite at such a difficult juncture; and who, besides these advantages, rendered the ecclesiastical state more respectable, by having in his hands the government of Florence, together with the wealth of the family of Medici [q].

Book III. 1523.

Election of Clement VII. Nov. 28.

Cardinal Wolsey, not disheartened by the disappointment of his ambitious views at the former

Wolsey disappointed, and filled with resentment.

[q] Guic. l. xv. 263.

Book III. 1523. former election, had entertained more sanguine hopes of success on this occasion. Henry wrote to the Emperor, reminding him of his engagements to second the pretensions of his minister. Wolsey bestirred himself with activity suitable to the importance of the prize for which he contended, and instructed his agents at Rome to spare neither promises nor bribes in order to gain his end. But Charles had either amused him with vain hopes which he never intended to gratify, or he judged it impolitic to oppose a candidate who had such a prospect of succeeding as Medici; or perhaps the cardinals durst not venture to provoke the people of Rome, while their indignation against Adrian's memory was still fresh, by placing another Ultra-montane in the papal throne. Wolsey, after all his expectations and endeavours, had the mortification to see a Pope elected, of such an age, and of so vigorous a constitution, that he could not comfort himself much with the chance of surviving him. This second proof fully convinced Wolsey of the Emperor's insincerity, and it excited in him all the resentment which an haughty mind feels on being at once disappointed and deceived; and though Clement endeavoured to soothe his vindictive nature by granting him a commission to be legate in England during life, with such ample powers as vested in him almost the whole papal jurisdic-

tion in that kingdom, the injury he had received entirely diſſolved the tie which had united him to Charles, and from that moment he meditated revenge. It was neceſſary, however, to conceal his intention from his maſter, and to ſuſpend the execution of it, until, by a dextrous improvement of the incidents which might occur, he ſhould be able gradually to alienate the King's affections from the Emperor. For this reaſon, he was ſo far from expreſſing any uneaſineſs on account of the repulſe which he had met with, that he abounded on every occaſion, private as well as public, in declarations of his high ſatiſfaction with Clement's promotion [r].

Book III. 1523.

Henry's operations in France.

HENRY had, during the campaign, fulfilled with great ſincerity whatever he was bound to perform by the league againſt France, though more ſlowly than he could have wiſhed. His thoughtleſs profuſion, and total neglect of œconomy, reduced him often to great ſtraits for money. The operations of war were now carried on in Europe in a manner very different from that which had long prevailed. Inſtead of armies ſuddenly aſſembled, which under diſtinct chieftains followed their prince into the field for a ſhort ſpace, and ſerved at their own coſt, troops were now levied at great charge, and

[r] Fiddes's Life of Wolſey, 294, &c. Herbert.

received

Book III. 1523. received regularly confiderable pay. Inftead of impatience on both fides to bring every quarrel to the iffue of a battle, which commonly decided the fate of open and defencelefs countries, and allowed the barons, together with their vaffals, to return to their ordinary occupations; towns were fortified with great art, and defended with much obftinacy; war, from a very fimple, became a very intricate fcience; and campaigns grew of courfe to be more tedious, and lefs decifive. The expence which thefe alterations in the military fyftem neceffarily created, appeared intolerable to nations hitherto unaccuftomed to the burden of heavy taxes. Hence proceeded the frugal, and even parfimonious fpirit of the Englifh parliaments in that age, which Henry, with all his authority, was feldom able to overcome. The commons, having refufed at this time to grant him the fupplies which he demanded, he had recourfe to the ample and almoft unlimited prerogative which the Kings of England then poffeffed, and by a violent and unufual exertion of it, raifed the money he wanted. This, however, wafted fo much time, that it was late in the feafon before his army, under the duke of Suffolk, could take the field. Being joined by a confiderable body of Flemings, Suffolk marched into Picardy, and Francis, from his extravagant eagernefs to recover the Milanefe,

Sept. 20.

nefe, having left that frontier almoft unguarded, Book III. 1523.
he penetrated as far as the banks of the river Oyfe, within eleven leagues of Paris, filling that capital with confternation. But the arrival of fome troops detached by the King, who was ftill at Lyons; the active gallantry of the French officers, who allowed the allies no refpite night or day; the rigour of a moft unnatural feafon, together with fcarcity of provifions, compelled Suffolk to retire; and La Tremoüille, who commanded in thofe parts, had the glory of having, with an handful of men, checked the progrefs of a formidable army, and of having driven them with ignominy out of the French territories[s]. November.

And thofe of the Germans and Spaniards.

The Emperor's attempts upon Burgundy and Guienne were not more fortunate, though in both thefe provinces Francis was equally ill prepared to refift them. The conduct and valour of his generals fupplied his want of forefight; the Germans who made an irruption into one of thefe provinces, and the Spaniards who attacked the other, were repulfed with great difgrace.

End of the campaign.

Thus ended the year 1523, during which Francis's good fortune and fuccefs had been fuch as gave all Europe an high idea of his power and refources. He had difcovered and

[s] Herbert. Mem. de Bellay, 73, &c.

difconcerted

Book III. 1523. disconcerted a dangerous conspiracy, the author of which he had driven into exile, almost without an attendant; he had rendered abortive all the schemes of the powerful confederacy formed against him; he had protected his dominions when attacked on three different sides; and though his army in the Milanese had not made such progress as might have been expected from its superiority to the enemy in number, he had recovered and still kept possession of one half of that dutchy.

1524. Sentiments of the new Pope. February 27. THE ensuing year opened with events more disastrous to France. Fontarabia was lost by the cowardice or treachery of its governor. In Italy, the allies resolved on an early and vigorous effort in order to dispossess Bonnivet of that part of the Milanese which lies beyond the Tesino. Clement, who, under the pontificates of Leo and Adrian, had discovered an implacable enmity to France, began now to view the power which the Emperor was daily acquiring in Italy, with so much jealousy, that he refused to accede, as his predecessors had done, to the league against Francis, and forgetting private passions and animosities, laboured with the zeal which became his character, to bring about a reconciliation among the contending parties. But all his endeavours were ineffectual; a numerous army, to which each of the allies furnished

nished their contingent of troops, was assembled at Milan by the beginning of March. Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, took the command of it upon Colonna's death, though the chief direction of military operations was committed to Bourbon, and the marquis de Pescara; the latter, the ablest and most enterprising of the Imperial generals; the former inspired by his resentment with new activity and invention, and acquainted so thoroughly with the characters of the French commanders, the genius of their troops, and the strength as well as weakness of their armies, as to be of infinite service to the party which he had joined. But all these advantages were nearly lost through the Emperor's inability to raise money sufficient for executing the various and extensive plans which he had formed. When his troops were commanded to march, they mutinied against their leaders, demanding the pay which was due to them for some months; and disregarding both the menaces and intreaties of their officers, threatened to pillage the city of Milan, if they did not instantly receive satisfaction. Out of this difficulty the generals of the allies were extricated by Moronè, who prevailing on his countrymen, over whom his influence was prodigious, to advance the sum that was requisite, the army took the field [t].

Book III. 1524. Imperial army ready to take the field early.

Retarded by a mutiny of the troops.

[t] Guic. l. xv. 267. Capella, 190.

Book III. 1524. The French obliged to abandon the Milanese.

Bonnivet was destitute of troops to oppose this army, and still more of the talents which could render him an equal match for its leaders. After various movements and encounters, described with great accuracy by the contemporary historians, a detail of which, at this distance of time, would be equally uninteresting and uninstructive, he was forced to abandon the strong camp in which he had entrenched himself at Biagrassa. Soon after, partly by his own misconduct, partly by the activity of the enemy, who harassed and ruined his army by continual skirmishes, while they carefully declined a battle which he often offered them; and partly by the caprice of 6000 Swiss, who refused to join his army, though within a day's march of it; he was reduced to the necessity of attempting a retreat into France through the valley of Aost. Just as he arrived on the banks of the Sessia, and began to pass that river, Bourbon and Pescara appeared with the vanguard of the allies, and attacked his rear with great fury. At the beginning of the charge, Bonnivet, while exerting himself with much valour, was wounded so dangerously as obliged him to quit the field; and the conduct of the rear was committed to the chevalier Bayard, who, though so much a stranger to the arts of a court that he never rose to the chief command, was always called, in

times of real danger, to the poſts of greateſt difficulty and importance. He put himſelf at the head of the men at arms, and animating them by his preſence and example to ſuſtain the whole ſhock of the enemy's troops, he gained time for the reſt of his countrymen to make good their retreat. But in this ſervice he received a wound which he immediately perceived to be mortal, and being unable to continue any longer on horſeback, he ordered one of his attendants to place him under a tree, with his face towards the enemy; then fixing his eyes on the guard of his ſword, which he held up inſtead of a croſs, he addreſſed his prayers to God, and in this poſture, which became his character both as a ſoldier and as a Chriſtian, he calmly waited the approach of death. Bourbon, who led the foremoſt of the enemy's troops, found him in this ſituation, and expreſſed regret and pity at the ſight. "Pity not me," cried the high-ſpirited chevalier, "I die "as a man of honour ought, in the diſcharge "of my duty: They indeed are objects of "pity, who fight againſt their King, their "country, and their oath." The marquis de Peſcara, paſſing ſoon after, manifeſted his admiration of Bayard's virtues, as well as his ſorrow for his fate, with the generoſity of a gallant enemy; and finding that he could not be re-

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Death of the chevalier Bayard, and ruin of the French army.

Book III. 1524. moved with ſafety from that ſpot, ordered a tent to be pitched there, and appointed proper perſons to attend him. He died, notwithſtanding their care, as his anceſtors for ſeveral generations had done, in the field of battle. Peſcara ordered his body to be embalmed, and ſent to his relations; and ſuch was the reſpect paid to military merit in that age, that the duke of Savoy commanded it to be received with royal honours in all the cities of his dominions; in Dauphinè, Bayard's native country, the people of all ranks came out in a ſolemn proceſſion to meet it [n].

Bonnivet led back the ſhattered remains of his army into France; and in one ſhort campaign, Francis was ſtripped of all he had poſſeſſed in Italy, and left without one ally in that country.

Progreſs of the reformation in Germany.

While the war kindled by the emulation of Charles and Francis, ſpread over ſo many countries of Europe, Germany enjoyed a profound tranquillity, extremely favourable to the reformation, which continued to make progreſs daily. During Luther's confinement in his retreat at Wartburg, Carloſtadius, one of his

[n] Bellefor. Epitr. p. 73. Mem. de Bellay, 75. Oeuv. de Brant. tom. vi. 108, &c. Paſquier Recherches, p. 526.

diſciples,

disciples, animated with the same zeal, but possessed of less prudence and moderation than his master, began to propagate wild and dangerous opinions, chiefly among the lower people. Encouraged by his exhortations, they rose in several villages of Saxony, broke into the churches with tumultuary violence, and threw down and destroyed the images with which they were adorned. These irregular and outrageous proceedings were so repugnant to all the Elector's cautious maxims, that, if they had not received a timely check, they could hardly have failed of alienating from the reformers a prince, no less jealous of his own authority, than afraid of giving offence to the Emperor, and other patrons of the ancient opinions. Luther, sensible of the danger, immediately quitted his retreat, without waiting for Frederick's permission, and returned to Wittemberg. Happily for the reformation, the veneration for his person and authority were still so great, that his appearance alone suppressed that spirit of extravagance which began to seize his party. Carlostadius and his fanatical followers struck dumb by his rebukes, declared that they heard the voice of an angel, not of a man [x].

March 6, 1522.

[x] Sleid. Hist. 51. Seckend. 195.

Book III. 1524. Luther translates the Bible.

Before Luther left his retreat, he had begun to tranflate the Bible into the German tongue, an undertaking of no lefs difficulty than importance, of which he was extremely fond, and for which he was well qualified: He had a competent knowledge in the original languages; a thorough acquaintance with the ftile and fentiments of the infpired writers; and though his compofitions in Latin were rude and barbarous, he was reckoned a great mafter of the purity of his mother tongue, and could exprefs himfelf with all the elegance of which it is capable. By his own affiduous application, together with the affiftance of Melancthon and feveral other of his difciples, he finifhed part of the New Teftament this year; and the publication of it proved more fatal to the church of Rome, than that of all his own works. It was read with wonderful avidity and attention by perfons of every rank. They were aftonifhed at difcovering how contrary the precepts of the Author of our religion are, to the inventions of thofe priefts who pretended to be his vicegerents; and having now in their hand the rule of faith, they thought themfelves qualified, by applying it, to judge of the eftablifhed opinions, and to pronounce when they were conformable to the ftandard, or when they departed from it.

The great advantages arifing from Luther's tranflation of the Bible, encouraged the advocates for reformation, in the other countries of Europe, to imitate his example, and to publifh verfions of the Scriptures in their refpective languages. Book III. 1524.

About this time, Nurembergh, Francfort, Hamburgh, and feveral other cities in Germany of the firft rank openly embraced the reformed religion, and by the authority of their magiftrates abolifhed the mafs, and the other fuperftitious rights of Popery [y]. The Elector of Brandenburgh, the Dukes of Brunfwick and Lunenburgh, and Prince of Anhalt, became avowed patrons of Luther's opinions, and countenanced the preaching of them among their fubjects. Several cities abolifh the rites of the Popifh church.

The court of Rome beheld this growing defection with great concern; and Adrian's firft care after his arrival in Italy, had been to deliberate with the Cardinals, concerning the proper means of putting a ftop to it. This Pope was profoundly fkilled in fcholaftic theology, and having been early taken notice of on that account, he ftill retained fuch an exceffive admiration of the fcience to which he owed his Meafures employed by Adrian in order to check the progrefs of the Reformation.

[y] Seckend. 241. Chytræi Contin. Krantzii, 203.

Book III. 1524. reputation and ſucceſs in life, that he conſidered Luther's invectives againſt the ſchoolmen, particularly Thomas Aquinas, as little leſs than blaſphemy. All the tenets of that doctor appeared to him ſo clear and irrefragable, that he ſuppoſed every perſon who called in queſtion or contradicted them, to be either blinded by ignorance, or to be acting in oppoſition to the conviction of his own mind: Of courſe, no Pope was ever more bigotted or inflexible with regard to points of doctrine than Adrian; he not only maintained them as Leo had done, becauſe they were ancient, or becauſe it was dangerous for the church to allow of innovations, but he adhered to them with the zeal of a theologian, and with the tenaciouſneſs of a diſputant. At the ſame time his own manners being extremely ſimple, and uninfected with any of the vices which reigned in the court of Rome, he was as ſenſible of its corruptions as the reformers themſelves, and viewed them with no leſs indignation. The brief which he addreſſed to the Diet of the Empire aſſembled at November. Nuremberg, and the inſtructions he gave Cheregato, the nuncio whom he ſent hither, were framed agreeably to theſe views. On the one hand, he condemned Luther's opinions with more aſperity and rancour of expreſſion than Leo had ever uſed; he ſeverely cenſured the

Princes

Princes of Germany for ſuffering him to ſpread his pernicious tenets, by their neglecting to execute the edict of the Diet at Worms, and required them, if Luther did not inſtantly retract his errors, to deſtroy him with fire as a gangrened and incurable member, in like manner as Dathan and Abiram had been cut off by Moſes, Annanias and Sapphira by the apoſtles, and John Huſs and Jerom of Prague by their anceſtors [z]. On the other hand, he, with great candour, and in the moſt explicit terms, acknowledged the corruptions of the Roman court to be the ſource from which had flowed all the evils that the church now felt or dreaded; he promiſed to exert all his authority towards reforming theſe abuſes, with as much diſpatch as the nature and inveteracy of the diſorders would admit; and he requeſted of them to give him their advice with regard to the moſt effectual means of ſuppreſſing that new hereſy which had ſprung up among them [a].

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The members of the Diet, after praiſing the Pope's pious and laudable intentions, excuſed themſelves for not executing the edict of Worms, by alleging that the prodigious increaſe of Luther's followers, as well as the averſion to

Diet of Nuremberg propoſe a general council as the proper remedy.

[z] Faſcic. Rer. Expet. & Fugiend. 342.
[a] Ibid. p. 345.

the

Book III. 1524. the court of Rome among their other subjects on account of its innumerable exactions, rendered such an attempt not only dangerous, but impossible. They affirmed that the grievances of Germany, which did not arise from imaginary injuries, but from impositions no less real than intolerable, as his Holiness would learn from a catalogue of them which they intended to lay before him, called now for some new and efficacious remedy; and in their opinion, the only remedy adequate to the disease, or which afforded them any hopes of seeing the church restored to soundness and vigour, was a General Council. Such a council, therefore, they advised him, after obtaining the Emperor's consent, to assemble without delay, in one of the great cities of Germany, that all who had right to be present might deliberate with freedom, and propose their opinions with such boldness, as the dangerous situation of religion at this juncture required [b].

Artfices of the nuncio to elude it.

The nuncio, more artful than his master, and better acquainted with the political views and interests of the Roman court, was startled at the proposition of a council; and easily foresaw how dangerous such an assembly might prove at a time when many openly denied the papal

[b] Fascic. Rer. Expet. & Fugiend. p. 346.

authority,

authority, and the reverence and submission yielded to it visibly declined among all. For that reason he employed his utmost address, in order to prevail on the members of the Diet to proceed themselves with greater severity against the Lutheran heresy, and to relinquish their proposal concerning a general council to be held in Germany. They, perceiving the nuncio to be more solicitous about the interests of the Roman court, than the tranquillity of the Empire, or purity of the church, remained inflexible, and continued to prepare the catalogue of their grievances to be presented to the Pope [c]. The nuncio, that he might not be the bearer of a remonstrance so disagreeable to his court, left Nuremberg abruptly, without taking leave of the Diet [d].

The Diet present a list of an hundred grievances to the Pope.

The secular Princes accordingly, for the ecclesiastics, although they gave no opposition, did not think it decent to join with them, drew up the list (so famous in the German annals) of an hundred grievances, which the Empire imputed to the iniquitous dominion of the papal see. This list contained grievances much of the same nature with that prepared under the reign of Maximilian. It would be tedious to enumerate each of them; they complained of

[c] Fascic. Rer. Expet. & Fugiend. 349. [d] Ibid. 376.

the

Book III. 1524. the ſums exacted for diſpenſations, abſolutions, and indulgences; of the expence ariſing from the law-ſuits carried to Rome; of the innumerable abuſes occaſioned by reſervations, commendams, and annates; of the exemption from civil juriſdiction which the clergy had obtained; of the arts by which they brought all ſecular cauſes under the cogniſance of the eccleſiaſtical judges; of the indecent and profligate lives which not a few of the clergy led; and of various other particulars, many of which have already been mentioned among the circumſtances which contributed to the favourable reception, or to the quick progreſs of Luther's doctrines. In the end they concluded, that if the holy ſee did not ſpeedily deliver them from thoſe intolerable burdens, they had determined to endure them no longer, and would employ the power and authority with which God had entruſted them, in order to procure relief [c].

The receſs of the Diet, March 6, 1523.

INSTEAD of ſuch ſeverities againſt Luther and his followers as the nuncio had recommended, the *receſs* or edict of the Diet contained only a general injunction to all ranks of men to wait with patience for the determinations of the council which was to be aſſembled, and in the mean time not to publiſh any new opinions

[c] Faſcic. Rer. Expet. & Fugiend. 354.

contrary

contrary to the eſtabliſhed doctrines of the church; together with an admonition to all preachers to abſtain from matters of controverſy in their diſcourſes to the people, and to confine themſelves to the plain and inſtructive truths of religion [f]. Book III. 1524.

This Diet of great benefit the Reformation.

The reformers derived great advantage from the tranſactions of this Diet, as they afforded them the fulleſt and moſt authentic evidence that groſs corruptions prevailed in the court of Rome, and that the Empire was loaded by the clergy with inſupportable burdens. With regard to the former, they had now the teſtimony of the Pope himſelf, that their invectives and accuſations were not malicious or ill-founded. As to the latter, the repreſentatives of the Germanic body, in an aſſembly where the patrons of the new opinions were far from being the moſt numerous or powerful, had pointed out as the chief grievances of the Empire, thoſe very practices of the Romiſh church againſt which Luther and his diſciples were accuſtomed to declaim. Accordingly, in all their controverſial writings after this period, they often appealed to Adrian's declaration, and to the hundred grievances, in confirmation of whatever they advanced concerning the diſſolute

[f] Faſcic. Rer. Expet. & Fugiend. 348.

manners,

Book III. 1524.

manners, or insatiable ambition and rapaciousness of the papal court.

Adrian's conduct censured at Rome.

At Rome, Adrian's conduct was considered as a proof of the most childish simplicity and imprudence. Men trained up amidst the artifices and corruptions of the papal court, and accustomed to judge of actions not by what was just, but by what was useful, were astonished at a Pontiff, who, departing from the wise maxims of his predecessors, acknowledged disorders which he ought to have concealed; and forgetting his own dignity, asked advice of those, to whom he was entitled to prescribe. By such an excess of impolitic sincerity, they were afraid that, instead of reclaiming, he would render the enemies of the church more presumptuous, and instead of extinguishing heresy, would weaken the foundations of the papal power, or stop the chief sources from which wealth flowed into the church [g]. For this reason they industriously opposed all his schemes of reformation, and by throwing objections and difficulties in his way, endeavoured to retard or to defeat the execution of them. Adrian, amazed on the one hand, at the obstinacy of the Lutherans, disgusted on the other, with the manners and maxims of the Italians, and finding

[g] F. Paul, Hist. of Counc. p. 28. Pallavic. Hist. 58.

himself

himſelf unable to correct either the one or the other, often lamented his own ſituation, and often looked back with pleaſure on that period of his life when he was only dean of Louvain, a more humble but happier ſtation, in which little was expected from him, and there was nothing to fruſtrate his good intentions [h]. Book III. 1524.

Clement VII. his ſucceſſor, excelled Adrian as much in the arts of government, as he was inferior to him in purity of life, or uprightneſs of intention. He was animated not only with the averſion which all Popes naturally bear to a council, but having gained his own election by means very uncanonical, he was afraid of an aſſembly that might ſubject it to a ſcrutiny which it could not ſtand. He determined, therefore, to elude by every poſſible means the demands of the Germans, both with reſpect to the calling of a council, and reforming abuſes in the papal court, which the raſhneſs and incapacity of his predeceſſor had brought upon him. For this purpoſe, he made choice of cardinal Campeggio, an artful man, often entruſted by the Popes with negociations of importance, as his nuncio to the diet of the Empire aſſembled again at Nuremberg. Clement's meaſures againſt Luther, and his dread of a general council.

[h] Jovii Vit. Adr. p. 118.

Campeggio,

Book III. 1524. February. The negociations of his nuncio in a second diet at Nuremberg,

Campeggio, without taking any notice of what had passed in the last meeting, exhorted the diet in a long discourse, to execute the edict of Worms with vigour, as the only effectual means of suppressing Luther's doctrines. The diet, in return, desired to know the Pope's intentions concerning the council, and the redress of the hundred grievances. The former, the nuncio endeavoured to elude by general and unmeaning declarations of the Pope's resolution to pursue such measures as would be for the greatest good of the church. With regard to the latter, as the catalogue of grievances did not reach Rome till after Adrian's death, and of consequence had not been regularly laid before the present Pope, Campeggio took advantage of this circumstance to decline making any definitive answer to them in Clement's name; though, at the same time, he observed, that their catalogue of grievances contained many particulars extremely indecent and undutiful, and that the publishing it by their own authority was highly disrespectful to the Roman see. In the end, he renewed his demand of their proceeding with rigour against Luther and his adherents. But though an ambassador from the Emperor, who was at that time very solicitous to gain the Pope, warmly seconded the nuncio, with many professions of his master's zeal

attended with little effect.

zeal for the honour and dignity of the papal see, the *recess* of the diet was conceived in terms of almost the same import with the former, without enjoining any additional severity against Luther and his party [i]. Book III. 1524. April 18.

Before he left Germany, Campeggio, in order to amuse and soothe the people, published certain articles for the amendment of some disorders and abuses which prevailed among the inferior clergy; but this partial reformation, which fell so far short of the expectations of the Lutherans, and of the demands of the Diet, gave no satisfaction, and produced little effect. The nuncio, with a cautious hand, tenderly lopped a few branches; the Germans aimed a deeper blow, and by striking at the root wished to exterminate the evil [k].

[i] Seckend. 286. Sleid. Hist. 66. [k] Seckend. 292.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF THE

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK IV.

Book IV. 1524. Views of the Italian ſtates with reſpect to Charles and Francis.

THE expulſion of the French, both out of the Milaneſe, and the republic of Genoa, was conſidered by the Italians as the concluſion of the war between Charles and Francis; and as they began immediately to be apprehenſive of the Emperor, when they ſaw no power remaining in Italy capable either to controul or oppoſe him, they longed ardently for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace. Having procured the reſtoration of Sforza to his paternal dominions, which had been their chief motive for entering into confederacy with Charles, they plainly diſcovered

Book IV. 1524. their intention to contribute no longer towards increaſing the Emperor's ſuperiority over his rival, which was already the object of their jealouſy. The Pope eſpecially, whoſe natural timidity increaſed his ſuſpicions of Charles's deſigns, endeavoured by his remonſtrances to inſpire him with moderation, and incline him to peace.

Charles reſolves to invade France.

But the Emperor, intoxicated with ſucceſs, and urged on by his own ambition, no leſs than by Bourbon's deſire of revenge, contemned Clement's admonitions, and declared his reſolution of ordering his army to paſs the Alps, and to invade Provence, a part of his rival's dominions, where, as he leaſt dreaded an attack, he was leaſt prepared to reſiſt it. His moſt experienced miniſters diſſuaded him from undertaking ſuch an enterprize with a feeble army, and an exhauſted treaſury: But he relied ſo much on having obtained the concurrence of the King of England, and on the hopes which Bourbon, with the confidence and credulity natural to exiles, entertained of being joined by a numerous body of his partiſans as ſoon as the Imperial troops ſhould enter France, that he perſiſted obſtinately in the meaſure. Henry undertook to furniſh an hundred thouſand ducats towards defraying the expence of the expedition during the

the firſt month, and had it in his choice either to continue the payment of that ſum monthly, or to invade Picardy before the end of July with a powerful army. The Emperor engaged to attack Guienne at the ſame time with a conſiderable body of men; and if theſe enterprizes proved ſucceſsful, they agreed, that Bourbon, beſides the territories which he had loſt, ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of Provence, with the title of King, and ſhould do homage to Henry as the lawful King of France, for his new dominions. Of all the parts of this extenſive but extravagant project, the invaſion of Provence was the only one which was executed. For although Bourbon, with a ſcrupulous delicacy, altogether unexpected after the part which he had acted, poſitively refuſed to acknowledge Henry's title to the crown of France, and thereby abſolved him from any obligation to promote the enterprize, Charles's eagerneſs to carry his own plan into execution did not in any degree abate. The army he employed for that purpoſe amounted only to eighteen thouſand men; the ſupreme command of which was given to the Marquis de Peſcara, with inſtructions to pay the greateſt deference to Bourbon's advice in all his operations. Peſcara paſſed the Alps without oppoſition, and entering Provence, laid ſiege to Marſeilles. Bourbon had adviſed him rather to

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The Imperialiſts enter Provence, Auguſt 19.

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march towards Lyons, in the neighbourhood of which city his territories were ſituated, and where of courſe his influence was moſt extenſive: But the Emperor was ſo deſirous to get poſſeſſion of a port, which would, at all times, ſecure him eaſy acceſs into France, that by his authority he over-ruled the Conſtable's opinion, and directed Peſcara to make the reduction of Marſeilles his chief object[a].

Prudent meaſures of Francis.

FRANCIS, who foreſaw, but was unable to prevent this attempt, took the moſt proper precautions to defeat it. He laid waſte the adjacent country, in order to render it more difficult for the enemy to ſubſiſt their army; he razed the ſuburbs of the city, ſtrengthened its fortifications, and threw into it a numerous garriſon under the command of brave and experienced officers. To theſe, nine thouſand of the citizens, whom their dread of the Spaniſh yoke inſpired with contempt of danger, joined themſelves; by their united courage and induſtry, all the efforts of Peſcara's military ſkill, and of Bourbon's activity and revenge, were rendered abortive. Francis, meanwhile, had leiſure to aſſemble a powerful army under the walls of Avignon, and no ſooner began to advance towards Marſeilles, than the Imperial troops, exhauſted by the fatigues of a ſiege which had

[a] Guic. l. xv. 273, &c. Mem. de Bellay, p. 80.

laſted

lasted forty days, weakened by diseases, and almost destitute of provisions, retired with precipitation towards Italy [b]. Book IV. 1524. Imperialists forced to retreat. Sept. 19.

If, during these operations of the army in Provence, either Charles or Henry had attacked France in the manner which they had projected, that kingdom must have been exposed to the most imminent danger. But on this, as well as on many other occasions, the Emperor found that the extent of his revenues was not adequate to the greatness of his power, or the ardour of his ambition, and the want of money obliged him, though with much reluctance, to circumscribe his plan, and to leave part of it unexecuted. Henry, disgusted at Bourbon's refusing to recognize his right to the crown of France; alarmed at the motions of the Scots, whom the solicitations of the French King had persuaded to march towards the borders of England; and no longer incited by his minister, who was become extremely cool with regard to all the Emperor's interests, took no measures to support an enterprize, of which, as of all new undertakings, he had been at first excessively fond [c].

If the King of France had been satisfied with having delivered his subjects from this formi- Francis elated with his success.

[b] Guic. l. xv. 277. Ulloa Vita dell. Carlo V. p. 93.

[c] Fiddes's Life of Wolsey. Append. N°. 70, 71, 72.

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dable invaſion, and having ſhewn all Europe the facility with which the internal ſtrength of his dominions enabled him to reſiſt the impreſſion of a foreign enemy, even when ſeconded by the abilities and powerful efforts of a rebellious ſubject, the campaign, notwithſtanding the loſs of the Milaneſe, would have been far from ending ingloriouſly. But Francis, animated with courage more becoming a ſoldier than a general; puſhed on by ambition, enterprizing rather than conſiderate; and too apt to be elated with ſucceſs; was fond of every undertaking that ſeemed bold and adventurous. Such an undertaking, the ſituation of his affairs, at that juncture, naturally preſented to his view. He had under his command one of the moſt powerful and beſt appointed armies that France had ever brought into the field, which he could not think of diſbanding without having employed it in any ſervice. The Imperial troops had been obliged to retire almoſt ruined by hard duty, and diſheartened with ill ſucceſs; the Milaneſe had been left altogether without defence; it was not impoſſible to reach that country before Peſcara, with his ſhattered forces, could arrive there; or if fear ſhould add ſpeed to their retreat, they were in no condition to make head againſt his freſh and numerous troops; and Milan would now, as in former inſtances, ſubmit without reſiſtance

Reſolves to invade the Milaneſe.

ſiſtance to a bold invader. Theſe conſiderations, which were not deſtitute of plauſibility, appeared to his ſanguine temper to be of the utmoſt weight. In vain did his wiſeſt miniſters and generals repreſent to him the danger of taking the field at a ſeaſon ſo far advanced, with an army compoſed chiefly of Swiſs and Germans, to whoſe caprices he would be ſubject in all his operations, and on whoſe fidelity his ſafety muſt abſolutely depend. In vain did Louiſe of Savoy advance by haſty journies towards Provence, that ſhe might exert all her authority in diſſuading her ſon from ſuch a raſh enterprize. Francis diſregarded the remonſtrances of his ſubjects; and that he might ſave himſelf the pain of an interview with his mother, whoſe counſels he had determined to reject, he began his march before her arrival; appointing her, however, by way of atonement for that neglect, to be regent of the kingdom during his abſence. Bonnivet, by his perſuaſions, contributed not a little to confirm Francis in this reſolution. That favourite, who ſtrongly reſembled his maſter in all the defective parts of of his character, was led by his natural impetuoſity, warmly to approve of ſuch an enterprize; and being prompted beſides by his impatience to reviſit a Milaneſe lady, of whom he had been deeply enamoured during his late expedition, he is ſaid, by his flattering deſcriptions of her beauty and

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Appoints his mother regent during his abſence.

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and accomplifhments, to have infpired Francis, who was extremely fufceptible of fuch paffions, with an equal defire of feeing her[d].

Operations in the Milanefe.

The French paffed the Alps at Mount Cenis; and as their fuccefs depended on difpatch, they advanced with the greateft diligence. Pefcara, who had been obliged to take a longer and more difficult rout by Monaco and Final, was foon informed of their intention; and being fenfible that nothing but the prefence of his troops could fave the Milanefe, marched with fuch rapidity, that he reached Alva on the fame day that the French army arrived at Varcelli. Francis, inftructed by Bonnivet's error in the former campaign, advanced directly towards Milan, where the unexpected approach of an enemy fo powerful, occafioned fuch confternation and diforder, that although Pefcara entered the city with fome of his beft troops, he found that the defence of it could not be undertaken with any probability of fuccefs; and having thrown a garrifon into the citadel, retired through one gate, while the French were admitted at another[e].

Embarraffing ftate of the Imperialifts.

These brifk motions of the French Monarch difconcerted all the fchemes of defence which

[d] Oeuv. de Brant. tom. vi. 253.

[e] Mem. de Bellay, p. 81. Guic. l. xv. 278.

the

the Imperialiſts had formed. Never, indeed, did generals attempt to oppoſe a formidable invaſion under ſuch circumſtances of diſadvantage. Though Charles poſſeſſed dominions more extenſive than any other Prince in Europe, and had, at this time, no other army but that which was employed in Lombardy, which did not amount to ſixteen thouſand men, his prerogative in all his different ſtates was ſo limited, and his ſubjects, without whoſe conſent he could raiſe no taxes, diſcovered ſuch unwillingneſs to burden themſelves with new or extraordinary impoſitions, that even this ſmall body of troops was in want of pay, of ammunition, of proviſions, and of clothing. In ſuch a ſituation, it required all the wiſdom of Lannoy, the intrepidity of Peſcara, and the implacable reſentment of Bourbon, to preſerve them from ſinking under deſpair, and to inſpire them with reſolution to attempt, or ſagacity to diſcover, what was eſſential to their ſafety. To the efforts of their genius, and the activity of their zeal, the Emperor was more indebted for the preſervation of his Italian dominions than to his own power. Lannoy, by mortgaging the revenues of Naples, procured ſome money, which was immediately applied towards providing the army with whatever was moſt neceſſary [f]. Peſcara, beloved and almoſt

[f] Guic. l. xv. 280.

Book IV. 1524. adored by the Spanish troops, exhorted them to shew the world, by their engaging to serve the Emperor, in that dangerous exigency, without making any immediate demand of pay, that they were animated with sentiments of honour very different from those of mercenary soldiers; to which proposition, that gallant body of men, with an unexampled generosity, gave their consent [g]. Bourbon having raised a considerable sum, by pawning his jewels, set out for Germany, where his influence was great, that by his presence he might hasten the levying of troops for the Imperial service [h].

Francis besieges Pavia. FRANCIS, by a fatal error, allowed the Emperor's generals time to derive advantage from all these operations. Instead of pursuing the enemy, who retired to Lodi on the Adda, an untenable post, which Pescara had resolved to abandon on his approach, he, in compliance with the opinion of Bonnevet, though contrary October 28. to that of his other generals, laid siege to Pavia on the Tesino; a town, indeed, of great importance, the possession of which would have opened to him all the fertile country lying on the banks of that river. But the fortifications of the place

[g] Jovii Vit. Davali. lib. v. p. 386. Sandov. vol. i. 621. Ulloa Vita dell Carlo V. p. 94, &c. Vida dell Emper. Carlos V. per Vera y Zuniga. p. 36.

[h] Mem. de Bellay, p. 83.

were

were ſtrong; it was dangerous to undertake a difficult ſiege, at ſo late a ſeaſon; and the Imperial generals, ſenſible of its conſequence, had thrown into the town a garriſon compoſed of ſix thouſand veterans, under the command of Antonio de Leyva, an officer of high rank; of great experience; of a patient but enterprizing courage; fertile in reſources; ambitious of diſtinguiſhing himſelf; and capable, for that reaſon, as well as from his having been long accuſtomed both to obey and to command, of ſuffering or performing any thing in order to procure ſucceſs.

His vigorous efforts.

Francis proſecuted the ſiege with obſtinacy equal to the raſhneſs with which he had undertaken it. During three months, every thing known to the engineers of that age, or that could be effected by the valour of his troops, was attempted in order to reduce the place; while Lannoy and Peſcara, unable to obſtruct his operations, were obliged to remain in ſuch an ignominious ſtate of inaction, that a Paſquinade was publiſhed at Rome, offering a reward to any perſon who could find the Imperial army, loſt in the month of October in the mountains between France and Lombardy, and which had not been heard of ſince that time[i].

[i] Sandov. i. 608.

Leyva,

Book IV. 1524. The town gallantly defended.

Leyva, well acquainted with the difficulties under which his countrymen laboured, and the impoſſibility of their facing, in the field, ſuch a powerful army as formed the ſiege of Pavia, placed his only hopes of ſafety in his own vigilance and valour. The efforts of both were extraordinary, and in proportion to the importance of the place, with the defence of which he was entruſted. He interrupted the approaches of the French by frequent and furious ſallies. Behind the breaches which their artillery made, he erected new works, that appeared to be ſcarcely inferior in ſtrength to the original fortifications. He repulſed the beſiegers in all their aſſaults; and by his own example, brought not only the garriſon, but the inhabitants, to bear the moſt intolerable fatigues, and to encounter the greateſt dangers without murmuring. The rigour of the ſeaſon conſpired with his endeavours in retarding the progreſs of the French. Francis attempting to become maſter of the town, by diverting the courſe of the Teſino, which is its defence on one ſide, a ſudden inundation of the river deſtroyed, in one day, the labour of many weeks, and ſwept away all the mounds which his army had raiſed with infinite toil, as well as at great expence [k].

[k] Guic. l. xv. 280. Ulloa Vita di Carlo V. p. 95.

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The Pope concludes a treaty of neutrality.

Notwithstanding the ſlow progreſs of the beſiegers, and the glory which Leyva acquired by his gallant defence, it was not doubted but that the town would at laſt be obliged to ſurrender. The Pope, who already conſidered the French arms as ſuperior in Italy, became impatient to diſengage himſelf from his connections with the Emperor, of whoſe deſigns he was extremely jealous, and to enter into terms of friendſhip with Francis. As Clement's timid and cautious temper rendered him incapable of following the bold plan which Leo had formed, of delivering Italy from the yoke of both the rivals, he returned to the more obvious and practicable ſcheme of employing the power of the one to balance and to reſtrain that of the other. For this reaſon, he did not diſſemble his ſatisfaction at ſeeing the French King recover Milan, as he hoped that the dread of ſuch a neighbour would be ſome check upon the Emperor's ambition, which no power in Italy was now able to controul. He laboured hard to bring about a peace that would ſecure Francis in poſſeſſion of his new conqueſts; and as Charles, who was always inflexible in the proſecution of his ſchemes, rejected the propoſition with diſdain, and with bitter exclamations againſt the Pope, by whoſe perſuaſions, while Cardinal de Medici, he had been induced to invade the Milaneſe, Clement immediately concluded a treaty

of

Book IV. 1524. of neutrality with the King of France, in which the republic of Florence was included [l].

Francis invades Naples.

Francis having, by this tranfaction, deprived the Emperor of his two moft powerful allies, and at the fame time having fecured a paffage for his own troops through their territories, formed a fcheme of attacking the kingdom of Naples, hoping either to over-run that country, which was left altogether without defence, or that at leaft fuch an unexpected invafion would oblige the viceroy to recal part of the Imperial army out of the Milanefe. For this purpofe he ordered fix thoufand men to march under the command of John Stuart duke of Albany. But Pefcara, forefeeing that the effect of this diverfion would depend entirely upon the operations of the armies in the Milanefe, perfuaded Lannoy to difregard Albany's motions [m], and to bend his whole force againft the King himfelf; fo that Francis not only weakened his army very unfeafonably by this great detachment, but incurred the reproach of engaging too rafhly in chimerical and extravagant projects.

Efforts of Pefcara and Bourbon.

Meanwhile the garrifon of Pavia was reduced to extremity; their ammunition and provifions began to fail; the Germans, of whom

[l] Guic. l. xv. 282. 285. [m] Guic. l. xv. 285.

it was chiefly compofed, having received no pay for feven months[n], threatened to deliver the town into the enemy's hands, and could hardly be reftrained from mutiny by all Leyva's addrefs and authority. The Imperial generals, who were no ftrangers to his fituation, faw the neceffity of marching without lofs of time to his relief. This they had now in their power: Twelve thoufand Germans, whom the zeal and activity of Bourbon taught to move with unufual rapidity, had entered Lombardy under his command, and rendered the Imperial army nearly equal to that of the French, greatly diminifhed by the abfence of the body under Albany, as well as by the fatigues of the fiege, and the rigour of the feafon. But the more their troops increafed in number, the more fenfibly did they feel the diftrefs arifing from want of money. Far from having funds for paying a powerful army, they had fcarcely what was fufficient for defraying the charges of conducting their artillery, and of carrying their ammunition and provifions. The abilities of the generals, however, fupplied every defect. By their own example, as well as by magnificent promifes in name of the Emperor, they prevailed on the troops of all the different nations which compofed their army, to take the field without

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[n] Gold. Polit. Imperial. 875.

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pay; they engaged to lead them directly towards the enemy; and flattered them with the certain prospect of victory, which would at once enrich them with such royal spoils as would be an ample reward for all their services. The soldiers, sensible that, by quitting the army, they would forfeit the vast arrears due to them, and eager to get possession of the promised treasures, demanded a battle with all the impatience of adventurers who fight only for plunder [o].

They march to attack the French, February 3.

The Imperial generals, without suffering the ardour of their troops to cool, advanced immediately towards the French camp. On the first intelligence of their approach, Francis called a council of war, to deliberate what course he ought to take. All his officers of greatest experience were unanimous in advising him to retire, and to decline a battle with an enemy who courted it from despair. The leaders of the Imperialists, they observed, would either be obliged in a few weeks to disband an army, which they were unable to pay, and which they kept together only by the hope of pillage, or the soldiers enraged at the non-performance of the promises to which they had trusted, would rise in some furious mutiny which would allow

[o] Eryci Peuteani Hist. Cisalpina ap. Grævii Thes. Antiquit. Ital. iii. p. 1170. 1179.

them

them to think of nothing but their own ſafety: Book IV.
That, meanwhile, he might encamp in ſome 1525.
ſtrong poſt, and waiting in ſafety the arrival of freſh troops from France and Switzerland, might, before the end of ſpring, take poſſeſſion of all the Milaneſe, without danger, or bloodſhed. But in oppoſition to them, Bonnivet, whoſe deſtiny it was to give counſels fatal to France during the whole campaign, repreſented the ignominy that it would reflect on their ſovereign, if he ſhould abandon a ſiege which he had proſecuted ſo long, or turn his back before an enemy to whom he was ſtill ſuperior in number; and inſiſted on the neceſſity of fighting the Imperialiſts rather than relinquiſh an undertaking, on the ſucceſs of which the King's future fame depended. Unfortunately, Francis's notions of honour were delicate to an exceſs that bordered on what was romantic. Having often ſaid that he would take Pavia, or periſh in the attempt, he thought himſelf bound not to depart from that reſolution; and rather than expoſe himſelf to the ſlighteſt imputation, he choſe to forego all the advantages which were the certain conſequences of a retreat, and determined to wait for the Imperialiſts before the walls of Pavia [p].

[p] Guic. l. xv. 291.

Book IV. 1525. Battle of Pavia.

The Imperial generals found the French fo ftrongly entrenched, that notwithftanding the powerful motives which urged them on, they hefitated long before they ventured to attack them; but at laft the neceffities of the befieged, and the murmurs of their own foldiers, obliged them to put every thing to hazard. Never did armies engage with greater ardour, or with an higher opinion of the importance of the battle which they were going to fight; never were troops more ftrongly animated with emulation, national antipathy, mutual refentment, and all the paffions which infpire obftinate bravery. On the one hand, a gallant young Monarch, feconded by a generous nobility, and followed by fubjects to whofe natural impetuofity, indignation at the oppofition which they had encountered, added new force, contended for victory and honour. On the other fide, troops more completely difciplined, and conducted by generals of greater abilities, fought from neceffity, with courage heightened by defpair. The Imperialifts, however, were unable to refift the firft efforts of the French valour, and their firmeft battalions began to give way. But the fortune of the day was quickly changed. The Swifs in the fervice of France, unmindful of the reputation of their country for fidelity and martial

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martial glory, abandoned their poſt in a cowardly manner. Leyva, with his garriſon, ſallied out and attacked the rear of the French, during the heat of the action, with ſuch fury as threw it into confuſion; and Peſcara falling on their cavalry, with the Imperial horſe, among whom he had prudently intermingled a conſiderable number of Spaniſh foot, armed with the heavy muſkets then in uſe, broke this formidable body by an unuſual method of attack, againſt which they were wholly unprovided. The rout became univerſal; and reſiſtance ceaſed in almoſt every part, but where the King was in perſon, who fought now, not for fame or victory, but for ſafety. Though wounded in ſeveral places, and thrown from his horſe, which was killed under him, Francis defended himſelf on foot with an heroic courage. Many of his braveſt officers gathering round him, and endeavouring to ſave his life at the expence of their own, fell at his feet. Among theſe was Bonnivet, the author of this great calamity, who alone died unlamented. The King exhauſted with fatigue, and ſcarcely capable of farther reſiſtance, was left almoſt alone, expoſed to the fury of ſome Spaniſh ſoldiers, ſtrangers to his rank, and enraged at his obſtinacy. At that moment came up Pomperant, a French gentleman, who had entered together with

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The French army routed.

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Bourbon into the Emperor's ſervice, and placing himſelf by the ſide of the Monarch againſt whom he had rebelled, aſſiſted in protecting him from the violence of the ſoldiers; at the ſame time beſeeching him to ſurrender to Bourbon, who was not far diſtant. Imminent as the danger was which now ſurrounded Francis, he rejected with indignation the thoughts of an action which would have afforded ſuch matter of triumph to his traitorous ſubject; and calling for Lannoy, who happened likewiſe to be near at hand, gave up his ſword to him; which he, kneeling to kiſs the King's hand, received with profound reſpect; and taking his own ſword from his ſide, preſented it to him, ſaying, That it did not become ſo great a Monarch to remain diſarmed in the preſence of one of the Emperor's ſubjects [q].

Francis taken priſoner.

Ten thouſand men fell on this day, one of the moſt fatal France had ever ſeen. Among theſe were many noblemen of the higheſt diſtinction, who choſe rather to periſh than to turn their backs with diſhonour. Not a few were taken priſoners, of whom the moſt illuſtrious was Henry D'Albret, the unfortunate king of

[q] Guic. l. xv. 292. Oeuv. de Brant. vi. 355. Mem. de Bellay, p. 90. Sandov. Hiſt. i. 638, &c. P. Mart. Ep. 805. 810. Ruſcelli Lettere de Principi ii. p. 70. Ulloa Vita dell Carlo V. p. 98.

Navarre,

Navarre. A ſmall body of the rear-guard made its eſcape under the command of the duke Alençon; the feeble garriſon of Milan, on the firſt news of the defeat, retired without being purſued, by another road; and in two weeks after the battle, not a Frenchman remained in Italy. Book IV. 1525.

Lannoy, though he treated Francis with all the outward marks of honour due to his rank and character, guarded him with the utmoſt attention. He was ſolicitous, not only to prevent any poſſibility of his eſcaping, but afraid that his own troops might ſeize his perſon, and detain it as the beſt ſecurity for the payment of their arrears. In order to provide againſt both theſe dangers, he conducted Francis, the day after the battle, to the ſtrong caſtle of Pizzichitonè near Cremona, committing him to the cuſtody of Don Ferdinand Alarcon, general of the Spaniſh infantry, an officer of great bravery, and of ſtrict honour, but remarkable for that ſevere and ſcrupulous vigilance which ſuch a truſt required.

Meanwhile Francis, who formed a judgment of the Emperor's diſpoſitions by his own, was extremely deſirous that Charles ſhould be informed of his ſituation, fondly hoping that, from his generoſity or ſympathy, he ſhould

Book IV. 1525. obtain ſpeedy relief. The Imperial generals were no leſs impatient to give their ſovereign an early account of the deciſive victory which they had gained, and to receive his inſtructions with regard to their future conduct. As the moſt certain and expeditious method of conveying intelligence to Spain, at that ſeaſon of the year, was by land, Francis gave the Commendador Pennaloſa, who was charged with Lannoy's diſpatches, a paſſport to travel through France.

Effects of this victory upon Charles. March 10.

CHARLES received the account of this ſignal and unexpected ſucceſs that had crowned his arms, with a moderation, which, if it had been real, would have done him more honour than the greateſt victory. Without uttering one word expreſſive of exultation, or of intemperate joy, he retired immediately into his chapel, and having ſpent an hour in offering up his thankſgivings to heaven, returned to the preſence-chamber, which by that time was filled with grandees and foreign ambaſſadors, aſſembled in order to congratulate him. He accepted of their compliments with a modeſt deportment; he lamented the misfortune of the captive King, as a ſtriking example of the ſad reverſe of fortune, to which the moſt powerful Monarchs are ſubject; he forbad any public rejoicings, as indecent in a war carried on among Chriſtians, reſerving

reserving them until he should obtain a victory equally illustrious over the Infidels; and seemed to take pleasure in the advantage which he had gained, only as it would prove the occasion of restoring peace to Christendom [r].

The schemes he began to form.

CHARLES, however, had already begun to form schemes in his own mind, which little suited such external appearances. Ambition, not generosity, was the ruling passion in his mind; and the victory at Pavia opened such new and unbounded prospects of gratifying it, as allured him with irresistible force: But it being no easy matter to execute the vast designs which he meditated, he thought it necessary, while proper measures were taking for that purpose, to affect the greatest moderation, hoping under that veil to conceal his real intentions from the other Princes of Europe.

The general consternation in France.

MEANWHILE France was filled with consternation. The King himself had early transmitted an account of the rout at Pavia, in a letter to his mother, delivered by Pennalosa, which contained only these words, "Madam, all is lost, except our honour." Those who survived, when they arrived from Italy, brought such a melancholy detail of particulars as made all

[r] Sandov. Hist. i. 651. Ulloa Vita dell Carlo V. p. 110.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

Book IV. 1525. all ranks of men sensibly feel the greatness and extent of the calamity. France, without its sovereign, without money in her treasury, without an army, without officers to command it, and encompassed on all sides by a victorious and active enemy, seemed to be on the very brink of destruction. But on that occasion the great abilities of Louise the regent saved the kingdom, which the violence of her passions had more than once exposed to the greatest danger. Instead of giving herself up to such lamentations as were natural to a woman so remarkable for her maternal tenderness, she discovered all the foresight, and exerted all the activity of a consummate politician. She assembled the nobles at Lions, and animated them by her example, no less than by her words, with such zeal in defence of their country, as its present situation required. She collected the remains of the army which had served in Italy, ransomed the prisoners, paid their arrears, and put them in a condition to take the field. She levied new troops, provided for the security of the frontiers, and raised sums sufficient for defraying these extraordinary expences. Her chief care, however, was to appease the resentment, or to gain the friendship of the King of England; and from that quarter, the first ray of comfort broke in upon the French affairs.

The prudent conduct of the Regent.

THOUGH

Book IV. 1525. Effects of the victory at Pavia on Henry VIII.

Though Henry, in entering into alliances with Charles or Francis, ſeldom followed any regular or concerted plan of policy, but was influenced chiefly by the caprice of temporary paſſions, ſuch occurrences often happened as recalled his attention towards that equal balance of power which it was neceſſary to keep between the two contending potentates, the preſervation of which he always boaſted to be his peculiar office. He had expected that his union with the Emperor might afford him an opportunity of recovering ſome part of thoſe territories in France which had belonged to his anceſtors, and for the ſake of ſuch an acquiſition he did not ſcruple to give his aſſiſtance towards raiſing Charles to a conſiderable pre-eminence above Francis. He had never dreamt, however, of any event ſo deciſive and ſo fatal as the victory at Pavia, which ſeemed not only to have broken, but to have annihilated the power of one of the rivals; ſo that the proſpect of the ſudden and entire revolution which this would occaſion in the political ſyſtem, filled him with the moſt diſquieting apprehenſions. He ſaw all Europe in danger of being over-run by an ambitious prince, to whoſe power there now remained no counterpoiſe; and though he himſelf might at firſt be admitted, in quality of an ally, to ſome ſhare in the ſpoils of the captive monarch, it

was

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was eaſy to diſcern that with regard to the manner of making the partition, as well as his ſecurity for keeping poſſeſſion of what ſhould be allotted him, he muſt abſolutely depend upon the will of a confederate, to whoſe forces his own bore no proportion. He was ſenſible that if Charles were permitted to add any conſiderable part of France to the vaſt dominions of which he was already maſter, his neighbourhood would be much more formidable to England than that of the ancient French Kings; while, at the ſame time, the proper balance on the continent, to which England owed both its ſafety and importance, would be entirely loſt. Concern for the ſituation of the unhappy monarch co-operated with theſe political conſiderations; his gallant behaviour in the battle of Pavia had excited an high degree of admiration, which never fails of augmenting ſympathy; and Henry, naturally ſuſceptible of generous ſentiments, was fond of appearing as the deliverer of a vanquiſhed enemy from a ſtate of captivity. The paſſions of the Engliſh miniſter ſeconded the inclinations of the Monarch. Wolſey, who had not forgotten the diſappointment of his hopes in two ſucceſſive conclaves, which he imputed chiefly to the Emperor, thought this a proper opportunity of taking revenge; and Louiſe, courting the friendſhip of England with

ſuch

fuch flattering fubmiffions as were no lefs agreeable to the King than to the Cardinal, Henry gave her fecret affurances that he would not lend his aid towards oppreffing France, in its prefent helplefs ftate, and obliged her to promife that fhe would not confent to difmember the kingdom even in order to procure her fon's liberty [s]. Book IV. 1525.

But as Henry's connections with the Emperor made it neceffary to act in fuch a manner, as to fave appearances, he ordered public rejoicings to be made in his dominions for the fuccefs of the Imperial arms; and as if he had been eager to feize the prefent opportunity of ruining the French monarchy, he fent ambaffadors to Madrid, to congratulate with Charles upon his victory; to put him in mind, that he, as his ally, engaged in one common caufe, was entitled to partake in the fruits of it; and to require that, in compliance with the terms of their confederacy, he would invade Guienne with a powerful army, in order to give him poffeffion of that province. At the fame time, he offered to fend the princefs Mary into Spain or the Low Countries, that fhe might be educated under the Emperor's direction, until the conclufion of the marriage agreed on between them;

[s] Mem. de Bellay, 94. Guic. l. xvi. 318. Herbert.

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and in return for that mark of his confidence he insisted that Francis should be delivered to him, in consequence of that article in the treaty of Bruges, whereby each of the contracting parties was bound to surrender all usurpers to him whose rights they had invaded. It was impossible that Henry could expect that the Emperor would listen to these extravagant demands, which it was neither his interest, nor in his power to grant. They appear evidently to have been made with no other intention than to furnish him with a decent pretext for entering into such engagements with France as the juncture required [t].

On the Italian powers.

It was among the Italian states, that the victory at Pavia occasioned the greatest alarm and terror. That balance of power on which they relied for their security, and which it had been the constant object of all their negociations and refinements to maintain, was destroyed in a moment. They were exposed by their situation to feel the first effects of the uncontrouled authority which Charles had acquired. They observed many symptoms of a boundless ambition in that young prince, and were sensible that, as Emperor, or King of Naples, he could either form dangerous pretensions upon each of

[t] Herbert, p. 64.

their

their territories, or invade them with great advantage. They deliberated, therefore, with much solicitude concerning the means of raising such a force as might obstruct his progress [u]. But their consultations, conducted with little union, and executed with less vigour, had no effect. Clement, instead of pursuing the measures which he had concerted with the Venetians for securing the liberty of Italy, was so intimidated by Lannoy's threats, or overcome by his promises, that he entered into a separate treaty, binding himself to advance a considerable sum in return for certain emoluments which he was to receive. The money was instantly paid; Charles afterwards refused to ratify the treaty; and the Pope remained exposed at once to infamy and to ridicule; to the former, because he had deserted the public cause for his private interest; to the latter, because he had been a loser by that unworthy action [x].

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April 1.

How dishonourable soever the artifice might be which was employed in order to defraud the Pope of this sum, it came very seasonably into the viceroy's hands, and put it in his power to

Mutiny in the Imperial army.

[u] Guic. l. xvi. 300. Ruscelli Lettere de Princ. ii. 74. 76, &c. Thuani Hist. lib. i. c. 11. [x] Guic. lib. xvi. 305. Mauroceni Histor. Vene. ap. Istorichi dell cose Venez. V. 131. 136.

Book IV. 1525. extricate himself out of an imminent danger. Soon after the defeat of the French army, the German troops, which had defended Pavia with such meritorious courage and perseverance, growing insolent upon the fame that they had acquired, and impatient of relying any longer on fruitless promises with which they had been so often amused, rendered themselves masters of the town, with a resolution to keep possession of it as a security for the payment of their arrears; and the rest of the army discovered a much stronger inclination to assist, than to punish the mutineers. By dividing among them the money exacted from the Pope, Lannoy quieted the tumultuous Germans; but though this satisfied their present demands, he had so little prospect of being able to pay them or his other forces regularly for the future, and was under such continual apprehensions of their seizing the person of the captive King, that, not long after, he was obliged to dismiss all the Germans and Italians in the Imperial service[y]. Thus, from a circumstance that now appears very singular, but arising naturally from the constitution of most European governments in the sixteenth century, while Charles was suspected by all his neighbours of aiming at universal monarchy, and while he was really forming vast projects

[y] Guic. l. xvi. p. 302.

of this kind, his revenues were ſo limited, that he could not keep on foot his victorious army, though it did not exceed twenty-four thouſand men. Book IV. 1525.

During theſe tranſactions, Charles, whoſe pretenſions to moderation and diſintereſtedneſs were ſoon forgotten, deliberated, with the utmoſt ſolicitude, how he might derive the greateſt advantages from the misfortune of his adverſary. Some of his counſellors adviſed him to treat Francis with the magnanimity that became a victorious prince, and inſtead of taking advantage of his ſituation to impoſe rigorous conditions, to diſmiſs him on ſuch equal terms, as would bind him for ever to his intereſt by the ties of gratitude and affection, more forcible as well as more permanent than any which could be formed by extorted oaths and involuntary ſtipulations. Such an exertion of generoſity is not, perhaps, to be expected in the conduct of political affairs, and it was far too refined for that Prince to whom it was propoſed. The more obvious, but leſs ſplendid, ſcheme of endeavouring to make the utmoſt of Francis's calamity, had a greater number in the council to recommend it, and ſuited better with the Emperor's genius. But though Charles adopted this plan, he did not execute it in a proper

The Emperor's deliberations concerning the manner of improving his victory.

 manner,

Book IV. 1525. manner. Inſtead of making one great effort to penetrate into France with all the forces of Spain and the Low-Countries; inſtead of cruſhing the Italian ſtates before they recovered from the conſternation which the ſucceſs of his arms had occaſioned, he had recourſe to the artifices of intrigue and negociation. This proceeded partly from neceſſity, partly from the natural diſpoſition of his mind. The ſituation of his finances, at that time, rendered it extremely difficult to carry on any extraordinary armament; and he himſelf having never appeared at the head of his armies, the command of which he had hitherto committed to his generals, was averſe to bold and martial counſels, and truſted more to the arts with which he was acquainted. He laid, beſides, too much ſtreſs upon the victory of Pavia, as if by that event the ſtrength of France had been annihilated, its reſources exhauſted, and the kingdom itſelf, no leſs than the perſon of its Monarch, had been ſubjected to his power.

The rigorous terms he propoſes to Francis.

Full of this opinion, he determined to ſet the higheſt price upon Francis's freedom, and having ordered the Count de Roeux to viſit the captive King in his name, he inſtructed him to propoſe the following articles, as the conditions on which he would grant him his liberty: That he ſhould reſtore Burgundy to the Emperor, from whoſe anceſtors it had been unjuſtly wreſted; that he ſhould

ſhould ſurrender Provence and Dauphiné, that they might be erected into an independent kingdom for the Conſtable Bourbon; that he ſhould make full ſatisfaction to the King of England for all his claims, and finally renounce the pretenſions of France to Naples, Milan, or any other territory in Italy. When Francis, who had hitherto flattered himſelf that he ſhould be treated by the Emperor with the generoſity becoming one great Prince towards another, heard theſe rigorous conditions, he was ſo tranſported with indignation, that drawing his dagger haſtily, he cried out, "'Twere better that a King ſhould die thus." Alarcon, alarmed at his vehemence, laid hold on his hand; but though he ſoon recovered greater compoſure, he ſtill declared, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he would rather remain a priſoner during life, than purchaſe liberty by ſuch ignominious conceſſions[z].

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Francis carried priſoner to Spain.

THIS mortifying diſcovery of the Emperor's intentions, greatly augmented Francis's chagrin and impatience under his confinement, and muſt have driven him to abſolute deſpair, if he had not laid hold of the only thing which could ſtill adminiſter any comfort to him. He perſuaded himſelf, that the conditions which Roeux had propoſed, did not flow originally from Charles himſelf, but were dictated by the rigorous po-

[z] Mem. de Bellay, 94. Ferreras Hiſt. ix. 43.

Book IV. licy of his Spanish council, and that therefore he
1525. might hope, in one personal interview with him, to do more towards hastening his own deliverance, than could be effected by long negociations passing through the subordinate hands of his ministers. Relying on this supposition, which proceeded from too favourable an opinion of the Emperor's character, he offered to visit him in Spain, and was willing to be carried thither as a spectacle to that haughty nation. Lannoy employed all his address to confirm him in these sentiments; and concerted with him in secret the manner of executing this resolution. Francis was so eager on a scheme which seemed to open some prospect of liberty, that he furnished the gallies necessary for the voyage, Charles being at that time unable to set any fleet to sea. The viceroy, without communicating his intentions either to Bourbon or Pescara, conducted his prisoner towards Genoa, under pretence of transporting him by sea to Naples; though soon after they set sail, he ordered the pilots to steer directly for Spain; but the wind happening to carry them near the French coast, the unfortunate Monarch had a full prospect of his own dominions, towards which he cast many a sorrowful and desiring look. They landed, however, in a few days at Barcelona, and soon after Francis was lodged, by the Emperor's command,
August 24. in the Alcazar of Madrid, under the care of the vigilant

vigilant Alarcon, who guarded him with as much circumſpection as ever[a]. Book IV. 1525.

A few days after Francis's arrival at Madrid, and when he began to be ſenſible of his having relied without foundation on the Emperor's generoſity, Henry VIII. concluded a treaty with the Regent of France, which afforded him ſome hope of liberty from another quarter. Henry's extravagant demands had been received at Madrid with that neglect which they deſerved, and which he probably expected. Charles, intoxicated with proſperity, no longer courted him in that reſpectful and ſubmiſſive manner which pleaſed his haughty temper. Wolſey, no leſs haughty than his maſter, was highly irritated at the Emperor's diſcontinuing his wonted careſſes and profeſſions of friendſhip to him. Theſe ſlight offences, added to the weighty conſiderations formerly mentioned, induced Henry to enter into a defenſive alliance with Louiſe, in which all the differences between him and her ſon were adjuſted; at the ſame time he engaged that he would employ his beſt offices in order to procure the deliverance of his new ally from a ſtate of captivity[b].

Henry VIII. concludes a treaty with France, in order to procure his releaſe.

[a] Mem. de Bellay, 95. P. Mart. Ep. ult. Guic. lib. xvi. 323. [b] Herbert. Fiddes's Life of Wolſey, 337.

Book IV. 1525. Morone's intrigues, in order to overturn the Emperor's power in Italy.

While the open defection of such a powerful confederate affected Charles with deep concern, a secret conspiracy was carrying on in Italy, which threatened him with consequences still more fatal. The restless and intriguing genius of Moronè, chancellor of Milan, gave rise to this. His revenge had been amply gratified by the expulsion of the French out of Italy, and his vanity no less soothed by the re-establishment of Sforza, to whose interest he had attached himself, in the dutchy of Milan. The delays, however, and evasions of the Imperial court in granting Sforza the investiture of his new-acquired territories, had long alarmed Moronè; these were repeated so often, and with such apparent artifice, as became a full proof to his suspicious mind that the Emperor intended to strip his master of that rich country which he had conquered in his name. Though Charles, in order to quiet the Pope and Venetians, no less jealous of his designs than Moronè, gave Sforza, at last, the investiture which had been so long desired; the charter was clogged with so many reservations, and subjected him to such grievous burdens, as rendered the duke of Milan a dependant on the Emperor, rather than a vassal of the Empire, and afforded him hardly any other security for his possessions, than the good pleasure of an ambitious superior. Such an accession

cession of power as would have accrued from the addition of the Milanese to the kingdom of Naples, was considered by Moronè as fatal to the liberties of Italy, no less than to his own power and importance. Full of this idea, he began to revolve in his mind the possibility of rescuing Italy from the yoke of foreigners, the darling scheme, as has been already observed, of the Italian politicians in that age, and which it was the great object of their ambition to accomplish. If to the glory of having been the chief instrument in driving the French out of Milan, he could add that of delivering Naples from the dominion of the Spaniards, he thought that nothing would be wanting to compleat his fame. His fertile genius soon suggested to him a project for that purpose; a difficult, indeed, and daring one, but for that very reason, more agreeable to his bold and enterprizing temper.

His negociations with Pescara.

Bourbon and Pescara were equally enraged at Lannoy's carrying the French King into Spain without their knowledge. The former, being afraid that the two Monarchs might, in his absence, conclude some treaty in which his interests would be entirely sacrificed, hastened to Madrid, in order to guard against that danger. The latter, on whom the command of the army now devolved, was obliged to remain in Italy; but, in every company, he gave vent to his indigna-

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tion againſt the viceroy, in expreſſions full of rancour and contempt; he accuſed him, in a letter to the Emperor, of cowardice in the time of danger, and of inſolence after a victory, towards the obtaining of which he had contributed nothing either by his valour or his conduct; nor did he abſtain from bitter complaints againſt the Emperor himſelf, who had not diſcovered, as he imagined, a ſufficient ſenſe of his merit, nor beſtowed any adequate reward on his ſervices. It was on this diſguſt of Peſcara, that Moronè founded his whole ſyſtem. He knew the boundleſs ambition of his nature, the vaſt extent of his abilities in peace as well as war, and the intrepidity of his mind, capable alike of undertaking and of executing the moſt deſperate deſigns. The cantonment of the Spaniſh troops on the frontier of the Milaneſe, gave occaſion to many interviews between him and Moronè, in which the latter took care frequently to turn the converſation to the tranſactions ſubſequent to the battle of Pavia, a ſubject upon which the marquis always entered willingly, and with paſſion; and Moronè obſerving his reſentment to be uniform and violent, artfully pointed out and aggravated every circumſtance that could increaſe its fury. He painted, in the ſtrongeſt colours, the Emperor's want of diſcernment, as well as of gratitude, in preferring

Lannoy

Lannoy to him, and in allowing that preſumptuous Fleming to diſpoſe of the captive King, without conſulting the man to whoſe bravery and wiſdom Charles was indebted for the glory of having him in his power. Having warmed him by ſuch diſcourſes, he then began to inſinuate, that now was the time to be avenged for theſe inſults, and to acquire immortal renown as the deliverer of his country from the oppreſſion of ſtrangers; that the ſtates of Italy, weary of the ignominious and intolerable dominion of barbarians, were at laſt ready to combine in order to vindicate their own independence; that their eyes were fixed on him as the only leader whoſe genius and good fortune could enſure the happy ſucceſs of that noble enterprize; that the attempt was no leſs practicable than glorious, it being in his power ſo to diſperſe the Spaniſh infantry, the only body of the Emperor's troops in Italy, through the villages of the Milaneſe, that, in one night, they might be deſtroyed by the people, who, having ſuffered much from their exactions and inſolence, would gladly undertake this ſervice; that he might then, without oppoſition, take poſſeſſion of the throne of Naples, the ſtation deſtined for him, and a reward not unworthy the reſtorer of liberty to Italy; that the Pope, of whom that kingdom held, and whoſe predeceſſors had diſpoſed of it

on

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on many former occaſions, would willingly grant him the right of inveſtiture; that the Venetians, the Florentines, the duke of Milan, to whom he had communicated the ſcheme, together with the French, would be the guarantees of his right; that the Neapolitans would naturally prefer the government of one of their countrymen, whom they loved and admired, to that odious dominion of ſtrangers, to which they had been ſo long ſubjected; and that the Emperor, aſtoniſhed at a blow ſo unexpected, would find that he had neither troops nor money to reſiſt ſuch a powerful confederacy [c].

Betrayed and taken priſoner by Peſcara.

Pescara, amazed at the boldneſs and extent of the ſcheme, liſtened attentively to Moronè, but with the countenance of a man loſt in profound and anxious thought. On the one hand, the infamy of betraying his ſovereign under whom he bore ſuch high command, deterred him from the attempt; on the other, the proſpect of obtaining a crown allured him to venture upon it. After continuing a ſhort ſpace in ſuſpence, the leaſt commendable motives, as is uſual after ſuch deliberations, prevailed, and ambition triumphed over honour. In order,

[c] Guic. l. xvi. 325. Jovii Vita Davali, p. 417. Oeuv. de Brantome, iv. 171. Ruſcelli Lettere de Princ. ii. 91. Thuani Hiſt. lib. i. c. 11. P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. ix. c. 3. p. 207.

however, to throw a colour of decency on his conduct, he insisted that some learned casuists should give their opinion, "Whether it was lawful for a subject to take arms against his immediate sovereign, in obedience to the Lord Paramount of whom the kingdom itself was held." Such a resolution of the case, as he expected, was soon obtained from the divines and civilians both of Rome and Milan; the negociation went forward; and measures seemed to be taking with great spirit for the speedy execution of the design. Book IV. 1525.

MEANWHILE Pescara, either shocked at the treachery of the action that he was going to commit, or despairing of its success, began to entertain thoughts of abandoning the engagements which he had come under. The indisposition of Sforza, who happened at that time to be taken ill of a distemper which was thought mortal, confirmed this resolution, and determined him to make known the whole conspiracy to the Emperor, deeming it more prudent to expect the dutchy of Milan from him as the reward of this discovery, than to aim at a kingdom to be purchased by a series of crimes. This resolution, however, proved the source of actions scarcely less criminal and ignominious. The Emperor, who had already received full information concerning the conspiracy from other

Book IV. 1525.

other hands, ſeemed to be highly pleaſed with Peſcara's fidelity, and commanded him to continue his intrigues for ſome time with the Pope and Sforza, both that he might diſcover their intentions more fully, and be able to convict them of the crime with greater certainty. Peſcara, conſcious of guilt, as well as ſenſible how ſuſpicious his long ſilence muſt have appeared at Madrid, durſt not decline that diſhonourable office; and, to his eternal diſgrace, was obliged to act the meaneſt of all parts, that of ſeducing with a purpoſe to betray. Conſidering the abilities of the perſons with whom he had to deal, the part was ſcarcely leſs difficult, than baſe; but he acted it with ſuch addreſs, as to deceive even the penetrating eye of Moronè, who relying with full confidence on his ſincerity, viſited him at Novara, in order to put the laſt hand to their machinations. Peſcara received him in an apartment where Antonio de Leyva was placed behind the tapeſtry, that he might overhear and bear witneſs to their converſation; as Moronè was returning homewards, that officer ſuddenly appeared, and to his aſtoniſhment arreſted him priſoner in the Emperor's name. He was conducted to the caſtle of Pavia; and Peſcara, who had ſo lately been his accomplice, had now the aſſurance to interrogate him as his judge. At the ſame time, the Emperor declared Sforza to have forfeited all right to the

dutchy

dutchy of Milan, by his engaging in a conspiracy againſt the ſovereign of whom he held; Peſcara, by his command, ſeized on every place in the Milaneſe, except the caſtles of Cremona and Milan, which, the unfortunate duke attempting to defend, were cloſely blockaded by the Imperial troops [d]. Book IV. 1525.

The rigorous treatment of Francis in Spain.

But though this unſucceſsful conſpiracy, inſtead of ſtripping the Emperor of what he already poſſeſſed in Italy, contributed to extend his dominions in that country, it ſhewed him the neceſſity of coming to ſome agreement with the French King, unleſs he would draw on himſelf a confederacy of all Europe, which the progreſs of his arms, and his boundleſs and undiſguiſed ambition, filled with general alarm. He had not hitherto treated Francis with the generoſity which that monarch expected, and hardly with the decency due to his ſtation. Inſtead of diſplaying the ſentiments becoming a great Prince, he ſeems to have acted with the mercenary art of a corſair, who, by the rigorous uſage of his priſoners, endeavours to draw from them an high price for their ranſom. The captive King was confined in an old caſtle, under a keeper whoſe formal auſterity of manners rendered his vigilance ſtill more diſguſtful. He was allowed

[d] Guic. l. xvi. 329. Jovii Hiſt. 319. Capella, lib. v. p. 200.

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no exercise but that of riding on a mule, surrounded with armed guards on horseback. Charles, on pretence of its being necessary to attend the Cortes assembled in Toledo, had gone to reside in that city, and suffered several weeks to elapse without visiting Francis, though he solicited an interview with the most pressing and submissive importunity. So many indignities made a deep impression on an high-spirited Prince; he began to lose all relish for his usual amusements; his natural gaiety of temper forsook him; and after languishing for some time, he was seized with a dangerous fever, during the violence of which he complained constantly of the unexpected and unprincely rigour with which he had been treated, often exclaiming, that now the Emperor would have the satisfaction of his dying in his hands, without having once deigned to see his face. The physicians, at last, despaired of his life, and informed the Emperor that they saw no hope of his recovery, unless he were gratified with regard to that point on which he seemed to be so strongly bent. Charles, solicitous to preserve a life, with which all his prospects of farther advantage from the victory at Pavia must have terminated, immediately consulted his ministers concerning the course to be taken. In vain did the chancellor Gattinara, the most able among them,

Endangers his life.

represent

represent to him the indecency of his visiting Francis, if he did not intend to set him at liberty immediately upon equal terms; in vain did he point out the infamy to which he would be exposed, if motives of avarice or ambition should prevail on him to give the captive Monarch this mark of attention and sympathy, for which humanity and generosity had pleaded so long without effect. The Emperor, less delicate, or less solicitous about reputation than his minister, set out for Madrid to visit his prisoner. The interview was short; Francis being too weak to bear a long conversation. Charles accosted him in terms full of affection and respect, and gave him such promises of speedy deliverance and princely treatment, as would have reflected the greatest honour upon him, if they had flowed from another source. Francis grasped at them with the eagerness natural in his situation; and cheered with this gleam of hope, began to revive from that moment, and soon recovered his wonted health [e].

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Sept. 28. The Emperor visits him.

He had soon the mortification to find, that his confidence in the Emperor was not better founded than formerly. Charles returned instantly to Toledo; all negociations were carried

The constable Bourbon arrives at Madrid.

[e] Guic. l. xvi. 339. Sandov. Hist. i. 665.

on

Book IV. on by his miniſters; and Francis was kept in as ſtrict cuſtody as ever. A new indignity, and

1525. that very galling, was added to all theſe which he had already ſuffered. Bourbon arriving in Spain about this time, Charles, who had ſo long refuſed to viſit the King, received his rebellious ſubject with the moſt ſtudied reſpect.

Nov. 15. He met him without the gates of Toledo, embraced him with the greateſt affection, and placing him on his left hand, conducted him to his apartment. Theſe marks of honour to him, were ſo many inſults to the unfortunate Monarch; which he felt in a very ſenſible manner. It afforded him ſome conſolation, however, to obſerve, that the ſentiments of the Spaniards differed widely from thoſe of their ſovereign. That generous people deteſted Bourbon's crime; and notwithſtanding his great talents and important ſervices, they ſhunned all intercourſe with him, to ſuch a degree, that Charles having deſired the marquis de Villena to permit Bourbon to reſide in his palace while the court remained in Toledo, he politely replied, "That he could not refuſe gratifying the Emperor in that requeſt;" but added with a Caſtilian dignity of mind, "that he muſt not be ſurprized if the moment the Conſtable departed, he ſhould burn to the ground a houſe, which, having been

polluted by the preſence of a traitor, became an unfit habitation for a man of honour [f]." Book IV. 1525.

The Emperor himſelf, nevertheleſs, ſeemed to have it much at heart to reward Bourbon's ſervices in a ſignal manner. But as Bourbon inſiſted, in the firſt place, on the accompliſhment of his promiſe of giving him in marriage his ſiſter Eleanora, Queen dowager of Portugal, the honour of which alliance had been one of his chief inducements to rebel againſt his lawful ſovereign; as Francis, in order to prevent ſuch a dangerous union, had offered, before he left Italy, to marry that Princeſs; and as Eleanora herſelf diſcovered an inclination rather to match with a powerful Monarch, than with his exiled ſubject; all theſe interfering circumſtances created great embarraſſment to Charles, and left him hardly any hope of extricating himſelf with decency. But the death of Peſcara, who, at the age of thirty-ſix, left behind him the reputation of being one of the greateſt generals and ableſt politicians of that century, happened opportunely at this juncture for his relief. By that event, the command of the army in Italy became vacant, and Charles, always fertile in reſources, perſuaded Bourbon, who was in no condition to diſpute his will, to

Appointed general of the Imperial army in Italy.

December.

[f] Guic. l. xvi. 335.

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accept the office of general in chief there, together with a grant of the dutchy of Milan forfeited by Sforza, and in return for these to relinquish all hopes of marrying the Queen of Portugal [g].

Negociations for procuring Francis's liberty.

THE chief obstacle that stood in the way of Francis's liberty was the Emperor's insisting so peremptorily on the restitution of Burgundy, as a preliminary to that event. Francis often declared that he would never consent to dismember his kingdom; and that even if he should so far forget the duties of a Monarch as to come to such a resolution, the fundamental laws of the kingdom would prevent its taking effect. On his part, he was willing to make an absolute cession to the Emperor of all his pretensions in Italy and the Low-Countries; he promised to restore Bourbon all his lands which had been confiscated; he renewed his proposal of marrying the Emperor's sister, the Queen dowager of Portugal; and engaged to pay a great sum by way of ransom for his own person. But all mutual esteem and confidence between the two monarchs were now entirely lost; there appeared on the one hand, a rapacious ambition labouring to avail itself of every favourable circumstance; on the other, suspicion and resent-

[g] Sandov. Hist. i. 676. Oeuv. de Brant. iv. 249.

ment,

ment, ſtanding perpetually on their guard; ſo that the proſpect of bringing their negociations to an iſſue, ſeemed to be far diſtant. The dutcheſs of Alençon, the French King's ſiſter, whom Charles permitted to viſit her brother in his confinement, employed all her addreſs, in order to procure his liberty on more reaſonable terms. Henry of England interpoſed his good offices to the ſame purpoſe; but both with ſo little ſucceſs, that Francis in deſpair took ſuddenly the reſolution of reſigning his crown with all its rights and prerogatives to his ſon the Dauphin, determining rather to end his days in priſon, than to purchaſe his freedom by conceſſions unworthy of a King. The deed for this purpoſe he ſigned with legal formality at Madrid, empowering his ſiſter to carry it into France, that it might be regiſtered in all the parliaments of the kingdom; and at the ſame time intimating his intention to the Emperor, he deſired him to name the place of his confinement, and to aſſign him a proper number of attendants during the remainder of his days [h].

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Francis in deſpair reſolves to reſign his crown.

THIS reſolution of the French King had great effect; Charles began to be ſenſible, that by puſhing rigour to exceſs, he might defeat his own meaſures, and inſtead of the vaſt ad-

Charles alarmed.

[h] This paper is publiſhed in Memoires Hiſtoriques, &c. par M. l' Abbe Raynal, tom. ii. p. 151.

Book IV. vantages which he hoped to draw from ranfoming a powerful Monarch, he might at laft find in his hands a Prince without dominions or revenues. About the fame time, one of the King of Navarre's domeftics happened by an extraordinary exertion of fidelity, courage and addrefs, to procure his mafter an opportunity of efcaping from the prifon in which he had been confined ever fince the battle of Pavia. This convinced the Emperor, that the moft vigilant attention of his officers might be eluded by the ingenuity or boldnefs of Francis, or his attendants, and one unlucky hour might deprive him of all the advantages which he had been fo folicitous to obtain. By thefe confiderations, he was induced to abate fomewhat of his former demands. On the other hand, Francis's impatience under confinement daily increafed; and having received certain intelligence of a powerful league forming againft his rival in Italy, he grew more compliant with regard to conceffions, trufting, that, if he could once obtain his liberty, he would foon be in a condition to refume whatever he had yielded.

1525.

1526. Treaty of Madrid.

As thefe were the views and fentiments of the two Monarchs, the treaty which procured Francis his liberty was figned at Madrid on the fourteenth of January, one thoufand five hundred and twenty-fix. The article with regard to

to Burgundy, which had hitherto created the greateſt difficulty, was compromiſed, Francis engaging to reſtore that dutchy with all its dependencies in full ſovereignty to the Emperor; and Charles conſenting that this reſtitution ſhould not be made until the King was ſet at liberty: in order to ſecure the performance of this, as well as the other conditions in the treaty, Francis agreed that at the ſame inſtant he himſelf was releaſed, he would deliver as hoſtages to the Emperor, his eldeſt ſon the Dauphin, his ſecond ſon the duke of Orleans, or in lieu of the latter, twelve of his principal nobility, to be named by Charles. The other articles ſwelled to a great number, and though not of ſuch importance, were extremely rigorous. Among theſe the moſt remarkable were, that Francis ſhould renounce all his pretenſions in Italy; that he ſhould diſclaim any title which he had to the ſovereignty of Flanders and Artois; that within ſix weeks after his releaſe, he ſhould reſtore to Bourbon and his adherents, all their goods, moveable and immoveable, and make them full reparation for the damages which they had ſuſtained by the confiſcation of them; that he ſhould uſe his intereſt with Henry D'Albret to relinquiſh his pretenſions to the crown of Navarre, and ſhould not for the future aſſiſt him in any attempt to recover it; that there ſhould be

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be eſtabliſhed between the Emperor and Francis a league of perpetual friendſhip and confederacy, with a promiſe of mutual aſſiſtance in every caſe of neceſſity. That in corroboration of this union, Francis ſhould marry the Emperor's ſiſter, the Queen Dowager of Portugal; that Francis ſhould cauſe all the articles of this treaty to be ratified by the States, and regiſtered in the parliaments of his kingdom; that upon the Emperor's receiving this ratification, the hoſtages ſhould be ſet at liberty; but in their place, the duke of Angouleme, the King's third ſon, ſhould be delivered to Charles, that in order to manifeſt, as well as to ſtrengthen the amity between the two Monarchs, he might be educated at the Imperial court; and that if Francis did not, within the time limited, fulfil the ſtipulations in the treaty, he ſhould promiſe, upon his honour and oath, to return into Spain, and to ſurrender himſelf again a priſoner to the Emperor [i].

Sentiments of that age with reſpect to it.

By this treaty, Charles flattered himſelf that he had not only effectually humbled his rival, but that he had taken ſuch precautions as would for ever prevent his re-attaining any formidable degree of power. The opinion, which the wiſeſt

[i] Recueil des Trait. tom. ii. 112. Ulloa Vita dell Carlo V. p. 102, &c.

politicians

politicians formed concerning it, was very different; they could not perſuade themſelves that Francis, after obtaining his liberty, would execute theſe articles againſt which he had ſtruggled ſo long, and to which even amidſt the horrors of captivity he had conſented with ſuch reluctance. Ambition and reſentment, they knew, would conſpire in prompting him to violate the hard conditions to which he had been conſtrained to ſubmit; nor would arguments and caſuiſtry be wanting to repreſent that which was ſo manifeſtly advantageous, to be neceſſary and juſt. If one part of Francis's conduct had been known, at that time, this opinion might have been founded, not in conjecture, but in certainty. A few hours before he ſigned the treaty, he aſſembled ſuch of his counſellors as were then in Madrid, and having exacted from them a ſolemn oath of ſecrecy, he made a long enumeration in their preſence of the diſhonourable arts, as well as unprincely rigour, which the Emperor had employed in order to enſnare or intimidate him. For that reaſon, he took a formal proteſt in the hands of notaries, that his conſent to the treaty ſhould be conſidered as an involuntary deed, and be deemed null and void [k]. By this diſingenuous artifice, for which even the treatment that he had met with was

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Francis ſecretly proteſts againſt the validity of it.

[k] Recueil des Trait. tom. ii. p. 107.

 no

Book IV. 1526. no apology, Francis endeavoured to ſatisfy his honour and conſcience in ſigning the treaty, and to provide at the ſame time a pretext on which to break it.

Meanwhile, great were the outward demonſtrations of love and confidence between the two Monarchs; they appeared often together in public; they frequently had long conferences in private; they travelled in the ſame litter, and joined in the ſame amuſements. But amidſt theſe ſigns of peace and friendſhip, the Emperor ſtill harboured ſuſpicion in his mind. Though the ceremonies of the marriage between Francis and the Queen of Portugal were performed ſoon after the concluſion of the treaty, Charles would not permit him to conſummate it until the return of the ratification from France. Even then Francis was not allowed to be at full liberty; his guards were ſtill continued; though careſſed as a brother-in-law, he was ſtill watched like a priſoner; and it was obvious to attentive obſervers, that an union, in the very beginning of which there might be diſcerned ſuch ſymptoms of jealouſy and diſtruſt, could not be cordial, or of long continuance[1].

Ratified in France. About a month after the ſigning of the treaty, the Regent's ratification of it was brought

[1] Guic. l. xvi 353.

from

from France; and that wife Princefs, prefer-ring, on this occafion, the public good to do-meftic affection, informed her fon, that, inftead of the twelve noblemen named in the treaty, fhe had fent the duke of Orleans along with his brother the Dauphin to the frontier, as the kingdom could fuffer nothing by the abfence of a child, but muft be left almoft incapable of defence, if deprived of its ableft ftatefmen, and moft experienced generals, whom Charles had artfully included in his nomination. At laft Francis took leave of the Emperor, whofe fuf-picion of the King's fincerity increafing, as the time of putting it to the proof approached, he endeavoured to bind him ftill fafter by exacting new promifes, which, after thofe he had already made, the French Monarch was not flow to grant. He fet out from Madrid, a place which the remembrance of many afflicting circum-ftances rendered peculiarly odious to him, with the joy natural on fuch an occafion, and began the long-wifhed-for journey towards his own dominions. He was efcorted by a body of horfe under the command of Alarcon, who, as the King drew near the frontiers of France, guarded him with more fcrupulous exactnefs than ever. When he arrived at the river An-daye, which feparates the two kingdoms, Lau-trec appeared on the oppofite bank with a guard of horfe equal in number to Alarcon's.

Francis fet at liberty.

An

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S

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An empty bark was moored in the middle of the ſtream; the attendants drew up in order on the oppoſite banks; at the ſame inſtant, Lannoy with eight gentlemen put off from the Spaniſh, and Lautrec with the ſame number from the French ſide of the river; the former had the King in his boat; the latter, the Dauphin and duke of Orleans; they met in the empty veſſel; the exchange was made in a moment; Francis, after a ſhort embrace to his children, leaped into Lautrec's boat, and reached the French ſhore. He mounted that inſtant a Turkiſh horſe, waved his hand over his head, and with a joyful voice crying aloud ſeveral times, "I am yet a King," galloped full ſpeed to St. John de Luz, and from thence to Bayonne. This event, no leſs impatiently deſired by the French nation than by their Monarch, happened on the eighteenth of March, a year and twenty-two days after the fatal battle of Pavia [m].

The Emperor's marriage with Iſabella of Portugal.

Soon after the Emperor had taken leave of Francis, and permitted him to begin his journey towards his own dominions, he ſet out for Seville, in order to ſolemnize his marriage with Iſabella, the daughter of Emanuel, the late King of Portugal, and the ſiſter of John III. who had ſucceeded him in the throne of that

[m] Sandov. Hiſt. i. 735. Guic. l. xvi. 355.

kingdom.

kingdom. Iſabella was a princeſs of uncommon beauty and accompliſhments; and as the Cortes both in Caſtile and Aragon had warmly ſolicited their ſovereign to marry, the choice of a wife ſo nearly allied to the royal blood of both kingdoms, was extremely acceptable to his ſubjects. The Portugueſe, fond of this new connection with the firſt Monarch in Chriſtendom, granted him an extraordinary dowry with Iſabella, amounting to nine hundred thouſand crowns, a ſum, which, from the ſituation of his affairs at that juncture, was of no ſmall conſequence to the Emperor. The marriage was celebrated with that ſplendour and gaiety, which became a great and youthful Prince. Charles lived with Iſabella in perfect harmony, and treated her on all occaſions with much diſtinction and regard [n].

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March 12.

During theſe tranſactions, Charles could hardly give any attention to the affairs of Germany, though it was torn in pieces by commotions, which threatened the moſt dangerous conſequences. By the feudal inſtitutions, which ſtill ſubſiſted almoſt unimpaired in the Empire, the property of lands was veſted in the Princes, and free-barons. Their vaſſals held of them by

Affairs of Germany.

Grievances of the peaſants.

[n] Ulloa Vita di Carlo V. p. 106. Belcarius Com. Rer. Gallic. p. 565. Spalatinus ap. Struv. Corp. Hiſt. Germ. ii. 1081.

the

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the ſtricteſt and moſt limited tenures; while the great body of the people was kept in a ſtate but little removed from abſolute ſervitude. In ſome places of Germany, people of the loweſt claſs were ſo entirely in the power of their maſters, as to be ſubject to perſonal and domeſtic ſlavery, the moſt rigorous form of that wretched ſtate. In other provinces, particularly in Bohemia and Luſatia, the peaſants were bound to remain on the lands to which they belonged, and making part of the eſtate, were transferred like any other property from one hand to another. Even in Suabia, and the countries on the banks of the Rhine, where their condition was moſt tolerable, the peaſants not only paid the full rent of their farms to the landlord; but if they choſe either to change the place of their abode, or to follow a new profeſſion, they were obliged to purchaſe this privilege at a certain price. Beſides this, all grants of lands to peaſants expired at their death, without deſcending to their poſterity. Upon that event, the landlord had a right to the beſt of their cattle, as well as of their furniture; and their heirs, in order to obtain a renewal of the grant, were obliged to pay large ſums by way of fine. Theſe exactions, though grievous, were born with patience, becauſe they were cuſtomary and ancient: But when the progreſs of elegance and luxury, as well as the changes in-

troduced

troduced into the art of war, came to increaſe the expence of government, and made it neceſſary for Princes to levy occaſional or ſtated taxes on their ſubjects, ſuch impoſitions being new, appeared intolerable; and in Germany, theſe duties being laid chiefly upon beer, wine, and other neceſſaries of life, affected the common people in the moſt ſenſible manner. The addition of ſuch a load to their former burdens, drove them to deſpair. It was to the valour inſpired by reſentment againſt impoſitions of this kind, that the Swiſs owed the acquiſition of their liberty in the fourteenth century. The ſame cauſe had excited the peaſants in ſeveral other provinces of Germany to rebel againſt their ſuperiors towards the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the ſixteenth centuries; and though theſe inſurrections were not attended with like ſucceſs, they could not, however, be quelled without much difficulty and bloodſhed [o].

Their inſurrection in Suabia.

By theſe checks, the ſpirit of the peaſants was overawed rather than ſubdued; and their grievances multiplying continually, they ran to arms, this year, with the moſt frantic rage. Their firſt appearance was near Ulm in Suabia. The peaſants in the adjacent country flocked to their ſtandard with the ardour and impatience

[o] Seckend. lib. ii. p. 2. 6.

natural

Book IV. 1526. natural to men, who having groaned long under oppression, beheld at last some prospect of deliverance; and the contagion spreading from province to province, reached almost every part of Germany. Wherever they came, they plundered the monasteries; wasted the lands of their superiors; razed their castles, and massacred without mercy all persons of noble birth who were so unhappy as to fall into their hands [p]. Having intimidated their oppressors, as they imagined, by the violence of these proceedings, they began to consider what would be the most proper and effectual method of securing themselves for the future from their tyrannical exactions. With this view, they drew up and published a memorial, containing all their demands, and declared, that while arms were in their hands, they would either persuade or oblige the nobles to give them full satisfaction with regard to these. The chief articles were, that they might have liberty to chuse their own pastors; that they might be freed from the payment of all tythes except those of corn; that they might no longer be considered as the slaves or bondmen of their superiors; that the liberty of hunting and fishing might be common; that the great forests might not be regarded as pri-

[p] Petr. Crinitus de Bello Rusticano, ap. Freher. Script. Rer. Germ. Argent. 1717, vol. iii. p. 243.

vate property, but be open for the uſe of all; that they might be delivered from the unuſual burden of taxes under which they laboured; that the adminiſtration of juſtice might be rendered leſs rigorous and more impartial; that the encroachments of the nobles upon meadows and commons might be reſtrained [q]. BOOK IV. 1526.

MANY of theſe demands were extremely reaſonable; and being urged by ſuch formidable numbers, might have met with ſome redreſs. But thoſe vaſt unwieldy bodies, aſſembled in different places, had neither union, nor conduct, nor vigour. They were led by perſons of the loweſt rank, without ſkill in war, or knowledge of what was neceſſary for accompliſhing their deſigns; and all their exploits were diſtinguiſhed only by a brutal and unmeaning fury. To oppoſe this, the princes and nobles of Suabia and the Lower Rhine raiſed their vaſſals, and attacking ſome of the mutineers with open force, and others by ſurprize, cut to pieces or diſperſed all who infeſted thoſe provinces; ſo that the peaſants, after ruining the open country, and loſing upwards of twenty thouſand of their aſſociates in the field, were obliged to return to their habitations with leſs hope than ever of relief from their grievances [r]. Quelled.

[q] Sleid. Hiſt. p. 90. [r] Seckend. lib. ii. p. 10. Petr. Gnodalius de Ruſticanorum Tumultu in Germania ap. Scard. Script. vol. ii. p. 131, &c.

THESE

Book IV. 1526. Their insurrection in Thuringia.

These commotions happened at firſt in provinces of Germany where Luther's opinions had made little progreſs; and being excited wholly by political cauſes, had no connection with the diſputed points in religion. But the frenzy reaching at laſt thoſe countries in which the Reformation was eſtabliſhed, derived new ſtrength from circumſtances peculiar to them, and roſe to a ſtill greater pitch of extravagance. The Reformation, wherever it was received, increaſed that bold and innovating ſpirit to which it owed its birth. Men who had the courage to overturn a ſyſtem ſupported by every thing which can command reſpect or reverence, were not to be overawed by any authority, how great or venerable ſoever. After having been accuſtomed to conſider themſelves as judges of the moſt important doctrines in religion, to examine theſe freely, and to reject, without ſcruple, what appeared to them erroneous, it was natural for them to turn the ſame daring and inquiſitive eye towards government, and to think of rectifying whatever diſorders or imperfections were diſcovered there. As religious abuſes had been reformed in ſeveral places without the permiſſion of the magiſtrate, it was an eaſy tranſition to attempt the redreſs of political grievances in the ſame manner.

No ſooner, then, did the ſpirit of revolt break out in Thuringia, a province ſubject to the Elector of Saxony, the inhabitants of which were moſtly converts to Lutheraniſm, than it aſſumed a new and more dangerous form. Thomas Muncer, one of Luther's diſciples, having eſtabliſhed himſelf in that country, had acquired a wonderful aſcendant over the minds of the people. He propagated among them the wildeſt and moſt enthuſiaſtic notions, but ſuch as tended manifeſtly to inſpire them with boldneſs, and lead them to ſedition. "Luther, he told them, had done more hurt than ſervice to religion. He had, indeed, reſcued the church from the yoke of Popery, but his doctrines encouraged, and his life ſet an example of the utmoſt licentiouſneſs of manners. In order to avoid vice, ſays he, men muſt practiſe perpetual mortification. They muſt put on a grave countenance, ſpeak little, wear a plain garb, and be ſerious in their whole deportment. Such as prepare their hearts in this manner, may expect that the ſupreme Being will direct all their ſteps, and by ſome viſible ſign diſcover his will to them; if that illumination be at any time with-held, we may expoſtulate with the Almighty, who deals with us ſo harſhly, and remind him of his promiſes. This expoſtulation and anger will be highly acceptable to God, and will at laſt

Book IV. 1526.

More formidable.

Their fanatical ſpirit.

 prevail on him to guide us with the ſame unerring hand which conducted the patriarchs of old. Let us beware, however, of offending him by our arrogance; but as all men are equal in his eye, let them return to that condition of equality in which he formed them, and having all things in common, let them live together like brethren, without any marks of subordination or pre-eminence[s]."

Extravagant as theſe tenets were, they flattered ſo many paſſions in the human heart, as to make a deep impreſſion. To aim at nothing more than abridging the power of the nobles, was now conſidered as a trifling and partial reformation, not worth the contending for; it was propoſed to level every diſtinction among mankind, and by aboliſhing property, to reduce them to their natural ſtate of equality, in which all ſhould receive their ſubſiſtence from one common ſtock. Muncer aſſured them, that the deſign was approved of by heaven, and that the Almighty had in a dream aſcertained him of its ſucceſs. The peaſants ſet about the execution of it, not only with the rage which animated thoſe of their order in other parts of Germany, but with the ardour which enthuſiaſm inſpires. They depoſed the magiſtrates in all the

[s] Seckend. lib. ii. p. 13. Sleid. Hiſt. p. 83.

cities

cities of which they were maſters; ſeized the lands of the nobles, and obliged ſuch of them as they got into their hands, to put on the dreſs commonly worn by peaſants, and inſtead of their former titles, to be ſatisfied with the appellation given to people in the loweſt claſs of life. Vaſt numbers engaged in this wild undertaking; but Muncer, their leader and their prophet, was deſtitute of the abilities neceſſary for conducting it. He had all the extravagance, but not the courage, which enthuſiaſts uſually poſſeſs. It was with difficulty he could be perſuaded to take the field; and though he ſoon drew together eight thouſand men, he ſuffered himſelf to be ſurrounded by a body of cavalry under the command of the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Heſſe, and Duke of Brunſwick. Theſe Princes, unwilling to ſhed the blood of their deluded ſubjects, ſent a young nobleman to their camp, with the offer of a general pardon, if they would immediately lay down their arms, and deliver up the authors of the ſedition. Muncer, alarmed at this, began to harangue his followers with his uſual vehemence, exhorting them not to truſt theſe deceitful promiſes of their oppreſſors, nor to deſert the cauſe of God, and of Chriſtian liberty.

But the ſenſe of preſent danger made a deeper impreſſion on the peaſants than his elo- Peaſants defeated.

 quence,

Book IV. quence, and confusion and terror were visible in
1526. every face, when a rainbow, which was the emblem that the mutineers had painted on their colours, happening to appear in the clouds, Muncer, with admirable presence of mind, laid hold of that incident, and suddenly raising his eyes and hands towards heaven, "Behold," cries he, with an elevated voice, "the sign "which God has given. There is the pledge "of your safety, and a token that the wicked "shall be destroyed." The fanatical multitude set up instantly a great shout, as if victory had been certain; and passing in a moment from one extreme to another, massacred the unfortunate nobleman who had come with the offer of pardon, and demanded to be led towards the enemy. The Princes enraged at this shocking violation of the laws of war, advanced with no
May 15. less impetuosity, and began the attack; but the behaviour of the peasants in the combat was not such as might have been expected either from their ferocity or confidence of success; an undisciplined rabble was no equal match for well-trained troops; above five thousand were slain in the field, almost without making resistance; the rest fled, and among the foremost Muncer their general. He was taken next day, and being condemned to such punishments as his crimes had deserved, he suffered them with a poor and

dastardly spirit. His death put an end to the insurrections of the peasants which had filled Germany with such terror [t]; but the enthusiastic notions which he had scattered were not extirpated, and produced, not long after, effects more memorable, as well as more extravagant.

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During these commotions, Luther acted with exemplary prudence and moderation; like a common parent, solicitous about the welfare of both parties, without sparing the faults or errors of either. On the one hand, he addressed a monitory discourse to the nobles, exhorting them to treat their dependants with greater humanity and indulgence. On the other, he severely censured the seditious spirit of the peasants, advising them not to murmur at hardships inseparable from their condition, nor to seek for redress by any but legal means [u].

Luther's moderate and prudent conduct.

Luther's famous marriage with Catharine a Boria, a nun of a noble family, who, having thrown off the veil, had fled from the cloister, happened this year, and was far from meeting with the same approbation. Even his most devoted followers thought this indecent, at a time when his country was involved in so many

His marriage.

[t] Sleid. Hist. p. 84. Seckend. lib. ii. p. 12. Gnodalius Tumult. Rustican. 155. [u] Sleid. Hist. p. 87.

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calamities; while his enemies never mentioned it with any softer appellation than that of incestuous or profane. Luther himself was sensible of the impression which it had made to his disadvantage; but being satisfied with his own conduct, he bore the censure of his friends, and the reproaches of his adversaries, with his usual fortitude [x].

May 5.

This year the Reformation lost its first protector, Frederick, Elector of Saxony; but the blow was the less sensibly felt, as he was succeeded by his brother John, a more avowed and zelous, though less able patron of Luther and his doctrines.

Prussia wrested from the Teutonic order.

Another event happened about the same time, which, as it occasioned a considerable change in the state of Germany, must be traced back to its source. While the frenzy of the Crusades possessed all Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, several orders of religious knighthood were founded in defence of the Christian faith against Heathens and Infidels. Among these the Teutonic order in Germany was one of the most illustrious, the knights of which distinguished themselves greatly in all the wild enterprizes carried on in the

[x] Seckend. lib. ii. p. 15.

Holy

Holy Land. Being driven at laſt from their ſettlements in the eaſt, they were obliged to return to their native country. Their zeal, and valour, were too impetuous to remain long inactive. They invaded, on very ſlight pretences, the province of Pruſſia, the inhabitants of which were ſtill idolaters; and having completed the conqueſt of it about the middle of the thirteenth century, held it many years as a fief depending on the crown of Poland. Fierce conteſts aroſe during this period, between the grand maſters of the order, and the Kings of Poland; the former ſtruggling for independence, while the latter aſſerted their right of ſovereignty with great firmneſs. Albert, a Prince of the houſe of Brandenburgh, who was elected grand maſter in the year one thouſand five hundred and eleven, engaging keenly in this quarrel, maintained a long war with Sigiſmund, King of Poland; but having become an early convert to Luther's doctrines, this gradually leſſened his zeal for the intereſts of his fraternity, ſo that he took the opportunity of the confuſions in the Empire, and the abſence of the Emperor, to conclude a treaty with Sigiſmund, greatly to his private emolument. By it, that part of Pruſſia which belonged to the Teutonic order, was erected into a ſecular and hereditary dutchy, and the inveſtiture of it

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 granted

Book IV. 1526. granted to Albert, who, in return, bound himself to do homage for it to the Kings of Poland as their vassal. Immediately after this, he made public profession of the reformed religion, and married a Princess of Denmark. The Teutonic knights exclaimed so loudly against the treachery of their grand master, that he was put under the ban of the Empire; but he still kept possession of the province which he had usurped, and transmitted it to his posterity. In process of time this rich inheritance fell to the electoral branch of the family, all dependence on the crown of Poland was shaken off, and the Margraves of Brandenburgh, having assumed the title of Kings of Prussia, have not only risen to an equality with the first Princes in Germany, but take their rank among the great Monarchs of Europe [y].

First measures of the French King upon his return to France.

Upon the return of the French King to his dominions, the eyes of all the powers in Europe were fixed upon him, that, by observing his first motions, they might form a judgment concerning his subsequent conduct. They were not held long in suspence. Francis, as soon as he arrived at Bayonne, wrote to the King of England, thanking him for his zealous and affec-

[y] Sleid. Hist. p. 98. Pfeffel Abregè de l'hist. de Droit Publ. p. 605, &c.

tionate

tionate interpofition in his favour, to which he acknowledged that he owed the recovery of his liberty. Next day the Emperor's ambaffadors demanded audience, and, in their mafter's name, required him to iffue fuch orders as were neceffary for carrying the treaty of Madrid into immediate and full execution; he coldly anfwered, that though for his own part he determined religioufly to perform all that he had promifed, the treaty contained fo many articles relative not to himfelf alone, but affecting the interefts of the French monarchy, that he could not take any farther ftep without confulting the States of his kingdom, and that fome time would be neceffary in order to reconcile their minds to the hard conditions which he had confented to ratify [z]. This reply was confidered as no obfcure difcovery of his being refolved to elude the treaty; and the compliment paid to Henry, appeared a very proper ftep towards fecuring the affiftance of that Monarch in the war with the Emperor, to which fuch a refolution would certainly give rife. Thefe circumftances, added to the explicit declarations which Francis made in fecret to the ambaffadors from feveral of the Italian powers, fully fatisfied them that their conjectures with regard to his conduct had been juft, and that inftead of in-

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[z] Mem. de Bellay, p. 97.

tending

Book IV. tending to execute an unreasonable treaty, he
1526. was eager to seize the first opportunity of revenging those injuries which had compelled him to feign an approbation of it. Even the doubts, and fears, and scruples which used, on other occasions, to hold Clement in a state of uncertainty, were dissipated by Francis's seeming impatience to break through all his engagements with the Emperor. The situation, indeed, of affairs in Italy at that time, did not allow the Pope to hesitate long. Sforza was still besieged by the Imperialists in the castle of Milan. That feeble Prince, deprived now of Morone's advice, and unprovided with every thing necessary for defence, found means to inform Clement and the Venetians, that he must soon surrender, if they did not come to his relief. The Imperial troops, as they had received no pay since the battle of Pavia, lived at discretion in the Milanese, levying such exorbitant contributions in that dutchy, as amounted, if we may rely on Guicciardini's calculation, to no less a sum than five thousand ducats a-day [a]; nor was it to be doubted, but that the soldiers, as soon as the castle should submit, would chuse to leave a ruined country which hardly afforded them subsistence, that they might take possession of more comfortable quarters in the fertile and un-

[a] Guic. l. xvii. 360.

touched

touched territories of the Pope and Venetians. Book IV. 1526.
The aſſiſtance of the French King was the only thing which could either ſave Sforza, or enable them to protect their own dominions from the inſults of the Imperial troops.

A league formed againſt the Emperor.

For theſe reaſons, the Pope, the Venetians, and duke of Milan, were equally impatient to come to an agreement with Francis, who, on his part, was no leſs deſirous of acquiring ſuch a conſiderable acceſſion both of ſtrength and reputation as ſuch a confederacy would bring along with it. The chief objects of this alliance, which was concluded at Cognac on the twenty-ſecond of May, though kept ſecret for ſome time, were to oblige the Emperor to ſet at liberty the French King's ſons, upon payment of a reaſonable ranſom; and to re-eſtabliſh Sforza in the quiet poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe. If Charles ſhould refuſe either of theſe, the contracting parties bound themſelves to bring into the field an army of thirty-five thouſand men, with which, after driving the Spaniards out of the Milaneſe, they would attack the kingdom of Naples. The King of England was declared Protector of this league, which they dignified with the name of *Holy*, becauſe the Pope was at the head of it; and in order to allure Henry more effectually, a principality in the kingdom of Naples, of thirty thouſand

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ducats yearly revenue, was to be fettled on him; and lands to the value of ten thoufand ducats on Wolfey his favourite [b].

The Pope abfolves Francis from his oath to obferve the treaty of Madrid.

No fooner was this league concluded, than Clement, by the plenitude of his papal power, abfolved Francis from the oath which he had taken to obferve the treaty of Madrid [c]. This right, how pernicious foever in its effects, and deftructive of that integrity which is the bafis of all tranfactions among men, was the natural confequence of the powers which the Popes arrogated as the infallible vicegerents of Chrift upon earth. But as they, in virtue of this pretended prerogative, had often difpenfed with obligations which were held facred, the intereft of fome men, and the credulity of others led them to imagine that the decifions of a fovereign pontiff authorized or juftified actions which would, otherwife, have been criminal and impious.

The Emperor alarmed.

Meanwhile the difcovery of Francis's intention to elude the treaty of Madrid, filled the Emperor with a variety of difquieting thoughts. He had treated an unfortunate Prince with the moft ungenerous rigour; he had difplayed an

[b] P. Heuter. Rer. Auftr. lib. ix. c. 3. p. 217. Recueil des Trait. ii. 124. [c] Goldaft. Polit. Imperial. p. 1002. Pallav. Hift. p. 70.

infatiable

infatiable ambition in all his negociations with his prifoner: He knew what cenfures the former had drawn upon him, and what apprehenfions the latter had excited in every court of Europe; nor had he reaped from the meafures which he purfued, any of thofe advantages which politicians are apt to confider as an excufe for the moft criminal conduct, and a compenfation for the fevereft reproaches. Francis was now out of his hands, and not one of all the mighty confequences which he had expected from the treaty that fet him at liberty, was likely to take place. His rafhnefs in relying fo far on his own judgment as to truft to the fincerity of the French King, in oppofition to the fentiments of his wifeft minifters, was now apparent; and he eafily conjectured, that the fame confederacy, the dread of which had induced him to fet Francis at liberty, would now be formed againft him with that gallant and incenfed Monarch at its head. Self-condemnation and fhame, on account of what was paft, with anxious apprehenfions concerning what might happen, were the neceffary refult of thefe reflections on his own conduct and fituation. Charles, however, was naturally firm and inflexible in all his meafures. To have receded fuddenly from any article in the treaty of Madrid, would have been a plain confeffion of imprudence, and a palpable fymptom

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ſymptom of fear; he determined therefore, that it was moſt ſuitable to his dignity, to inſiſt, whatever might be the conſequences, on the ſtrict execution of the treaty, and particularly not to accept of any thing which might be offered as an equivalent for the reſtitution of Burgundy [d].

Requires Francis to perform what he had ſtipulated.

In conſequence of this reſolution, he appointed Lannoy and Alarcon, to repair, as his ambaſſadors, to the court of France, and formally to ſummon the King either to execute the treaty with the ſincerity that became him, or to return, according to his oath, a priſoner to Madrid. Inſtead of giving them an immediate anſwer, Francis admitted the deputies of the ſtates of Burgundy to an audience in their preſence. They humbly repreſented to him, that he had exceeded the powers veſted in a King of France when he conſented to alienate their country from the crown, the domains of which he was bound by his coronation-oath to preſerve entire and unimpaired. Francis, in return, thanked them for their attachment to his crown, and intreated them, though very faintly, to remember the obligations which he lay under to fulfil his engagements with the Emperor. The deputies aſſuming an higher tone, declared

[d] Guic. l. xvii. 366.

that they would not obey commands which they confidered as illegal; and if he fhould abandon them to the enemies of France, they had refolved to defend themfelves to the beft of their power, with a firm purpofe rather to perifh than fubmit to a foreign dominion. Upon which Francis turning towards the Imperial ambaffadors, reprefented to them the impoffibility of performing what he had undertaken, and offered, in lieu of Burgundy, to pay the Emperor two millions of crowns. The Viceroy and Alarcon, who eafily perceived that the fcene to which they had been witneffes, was concerted between the King and his fubjects in order to impofe upon them, fignified to him their mafter's fixed refolution not to depart in the fmalleft point from the terms of the treaty, and withdrew [e]. Before they left the kingdom, they had the mortification to hear the Holy league againft the Emperor publifhed with great folemnity.

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His anfwer.

June 11.

The Emperor's preparations for war.

CHARLES no fooner received an account of this confederacy than he exclaimed in the moft public manner, and in the harfheft terms, againft Francis, as a Prince void of faith, and of honour. He complained no lefs of Clement, whom he folicited in vain to abandon his new

[e] Belcar. Comment. de Reb. Gal. 573. Mem. de Bellay, 97.

allies;

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASVATI MAHAL

Book IV. 1526. allies; he accused him of ingratitude; he taxed him with an ambition unbecoming his character; he threatened him not only with all the vengeance which the power of an Emperor can inflict, but by appealing to a general council, called up before him all the terrors arising from the authority of those assemblies so formidable to the papal see. It was necessary, however, to oppose something else than reproaches and threats to the powerful combination formed against him; and the Emperor, prompted by so many passions, did not fail to exert himself with unusual vigour, in order to send supplies not only of men, but of money, which was still more needed, into Italy.

Feeble operations of the confederates.

On the other hand, the efforts of the confederates bore no proportion to that animosity against the Emperor with which they seemed to enter into the holy league. Francis it was thought, would have infused spirit and vigour into the whole body. He had his lost honour to repair, many injuries to revenge, and the station among the Princes of Europe from which he had fallen to recover. From all these, added to the natural impetuosity of his temper, a war more fierce and bloody than any that he had hitherto made upon his rival, was expected. But Francis had gone through such a scene of distress,

distress, and the impression it had made was still so fresh in his memory, that he was become diffident of himself, distrustful of fortune, and desirous of tranquillity. To procure the release of his sons, and to avoid the restitution of Burgundy by paying some reasonable equivalent, were his chief objects; and for the sake of these, he would willingly have sacrificed Sforza and the liberties of Italy to the Emperor. He flattered himself that the dread alone of such a confederacy would induce Charles to listen to what was equitable; and was afraid of employing any considerable force for the relief of the Milanese, lest his allies, whom he had often found to be more attentive to their own interest, than punctual in fulfilling their engagements, should abandon him as soon as the Imperialists were driven out of that country, and deprive his negociations with the Emperor of that weight which they derived from his being at the head of a powerful league. Meanwhile the castle of Milan was pressed more closely than ever, and Sforza was now reduced to the last extremity. The Pope and Venetians, trusting to Francis's concurrence, commanded their troops to take the field, in order to relieve him; and an army more than sufficient for that service was soon formed. The Milanese, passionately attached to their unfortunate duke,

Book IV. 1526.

Book IV. 1526. and no leſs exaſperated againſt the Imperialiſts, who had oppreſſed them ſo cruelly, were ready to aid the confederates in all their enterprizes. But the duke d'Urbino, their general, naturally ſlow and indeciſive, and reſtrained, beſides, by his ancient enmity to the family of Medici, from taking any ſtep that might aggrandize or add reputation to the Pope [f], loſt ſome opportunities, and refuſed to improve others, of attacking the Imperialiſts, and raiſing the ſiege. Theſe delays gave Bourbon time to bring up a reinforcement of freſh troops, and a ſupply of money. July 24. He immediately took the command of the army, and puſhed on the ſiege with ſuch vigour, as quickly obliged Sforza to ſurrender, who retiring to Lodi, which the confederates had ſurprized, left Bourbon in full poſſeſſion of the reſt of the dutchy, the inveſtiture of which the Emperor had promiſed to grant him [g].

Diſquietude of the Italian powers. THE Italians began now to perceive the game which Francis had played, and to be ſenſible that, notwithſtanding all their addreſs, and refinements in negociation, which they boaſted of as talents peculiarly their own, they had for once been over-reached in thoſe very arts by a *tramontane* Prince. He had hitherto thrown almoſt the whole burden of the war upon them,

[f] Guic. l. xvii. 382. [g] Guic. l. xvii. 376, &c.

taking advantage of their efforts, in order to enforce the propofals which he often renewed at the court of Madrid for obtaining the liberty of his fons. The Pope and Venetians expoftulated and complained [h]; but as they were not able to rouze Francis from his inactivity, their own zeal and vigour gradually abated, and Clement, having already gone farther than his timidity ufually permitted him, began to accufe himfelf of rafhnefs, and to relapfe into his natural ftate of doubt and uncertainty.

Meafures of the Imperialifts.

All the Emperor's motions depending on himfelf alone, were more brifk and better concerted. The narrownefs of his revenues, indeed, did not allow him to make any fudden or great effort in the field, but he abundantly fupplied that defect by his intrigues and negociations. The family of Colonna, the moft powerful of all the Roman barons, had adhered uniformly to the Ghibeline or Imperial faction, during thofe fierce contentions between the Popes and Emperors, which, for feveral ages, filled Italy and Germany with difcord and bloodfhed. Though the caufes which at firft gave birth to thefe deftructive factions exifted no longer, and the rage with which they had been animated

[h] Rufcelli Lettere de Principi, ii. 157, &c. 159, 160—166.

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was in a great meaſure ſpent, the Colonnas ſtill retained their attachment to the Imperial intereſt, and by placing themſelves under the protection of the Emperors, ſecured the quiet poſſeſſion of their own territories and privileges. The Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, a man of a turbulent and ambitious temper, at that time the head of the family, had long been Clement's rival, to whoſe influence in the laſt conclave he imputed the diſappointment of all his ſchemes for attaining the papal dignity, of which, from his known connection with the Emperor, he thought himſelf ſecure. This was too great an injury to an aſpiring mind ever to be forgiven; and though he had diſſembled his reſentment ſo far as to vote for Clement at his election, and to accept of great offices in his court, he waited with the utmoſt impatience for an opportunity of being revenged. Don Hugo di Moncada, the Imperial ambaſſador at Rome, who was no ſtranger to theſe ſentiments, eaſily perſuaded him, that now was the time, while all the papal troops were employed in Lombardy, to attempt ſomething which would at once avenge his own wrongs, and be of eſſential ſervice to the Emperor his patron. The Pope, however, whoſe timidity rendered him quick-ſighted, was ſo attentive to their operations, and began to be alarmed ſo early, that he might have drawn to-

 gether

gether troops sufficient to have disconcerted all Colonna's measures. But Moncada amused him so artfully with negociations, promises, and false intelligence, that he lulled asleep all his suspicions, and prevented his taking any of the precautions necessary for his safety; and to the eternal disgrace of a prince possessed of great power, as well as renowned for political wisdom, Colonna, at the head of three thousand men, seized one of the gates of his capital, while he, imagining himself to be in perfect security, was altogether unprepared for resisting such a feeble enemy. The inhabitants of Rome permitted Colonna's troops, from whom they apprehended no injury, to advance without opposition; the Pope's guards were dispersed in a moment; and Clement himself, terrified at the danger, ashamed of his own credulity, and deserted by almost every person, fled with precipitation into the castle of St. Angelo, which was immediately invested. The palace of the Vatican, the church of St. Peter, and the houses of the Pope's ministers and servants, were plundered in the most licentious manner; the rest of the city was left unmolested. Clement, destitute of every thing necessary either for subsistence or defence, was soon obliged to demand a capitulation; and Moncada, being admitted into the castle, prescribed to him, with all the haughtiness of a

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Sept. 29. The Colonnas become masters of Rome.

Accommodation between the Pope and Emperor.

 conqueror,

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conqueror, conditions which it was not in his power to reject. The chief of these was, That Clement should not only grant a full pardon to the Colonnas, but receive them into favour, and immediately withdraw all the troops in his pay from the army of the confederates in Lombardy [i].

The Colonnas, who talked of nothing less than of deposing Clement, and of placing Pompeo, their kinsman, in the vacant chair of St. Peter, exclaimed loudly against a treaty which left them at the mercy of a Pontiff justly incensed against them. But Moncada, attentive only to his master's interest, paid little regard to their complaints, and by this fortunate measure, broke entirely the power of the confederates.

The Imperial army reinforced.

While the army of the confederates suffered such a considerable diminution, the Imperialists received two great reinforcements; one from Spain, under the command of Lannoy and Alarcon, which amounted to six thousand men; the other was raised in the Empire by George Frondsperg, a German nobleman, who having served in Italy with great reputation, had acquired such influence and popularity, that mul-

[i] Jovii Vita Pomp. Colon. p. Guic. l. xvii. 407. Ruscelli Lettere de Principi, i. p. 104.

titudes

titudes of his countrymen, fond on every occasion of engaging in military enterprizes, and impatient at that juncture to escape from the oppression of their superiors in religious as well as civil matters, crouded to his standard; so that without any other gratuity than the payment of a crown to each man, fourteen thousand enlisted in his service. To these the Archduke Ferdinand added two thousand horse, levied in the Austrian dominions. But although the Emperor had raised troops, he could not remit the sums necessary for their support. His ordinary revenues were exhausted; the credit of princes, during the infancy of commerce, was not extensive; and the Cortes of Castile, though every art had been tried to gain them, and some innovations had been made in the constitution in order to secure their concurrence, peremptorily refused to grant Charles any extraordinary supply[k]; so that the more his army increased in number, the more were his generals embarrassed and distressed. Bourbon, in particular, was involved in such difficulties, that he stood in need of all his address and courage in order to extricate himself. Vast sums were due to the Spanish troops already in the Milanese, when Frondsperg arrived with sixteen thousand hungry Germans, destitute of every thing.

[k] Sandov. i. 814.

Book IV. 1526. The Emperor's finances deficient.

Both made their demands with equal fierceneſs; the former claiming their arrears, and the latter, the pay which had been promiſed them on their entering Lombardy. Bourbon was altogether incapable of giving ſatisfaction to either. In this ſituation, he was conſtrained to commit acts of violence extremely ſhocking to his own nature, which was generous and humane. He ſeized the principal citizens of Milan, and by threats, and even by torture, forced from them a conſiderable ſum; he rifled the churches of all their plate and ornaments; the inadequate ſupply which theſe afforded, he diſtributed among the ſoldiers, with ſo many ſoothing expreſſions of his ſympathy and affection, that, though it fell far ſhort of the ſums due to them, it appeaſed their preſent murmurs[l].

Bourbon ſets Moronè at liberty.

Among other expedients for raiſing money, Bourbon granted his life and liberty to Moronè, who having been kept in priſon ſince his intrigue with Peſcara, had been condemned to die by the Spaniſh judges empowered to try him. For this remiſſion he paid twenty thouſand ducats; and ſuch were his ſingular talents, and the wonderful aſcendant which he had acquired over the minds of thoſe to whom he had acceſs, that in a few days, from being Bourbon's priſoner, he became his prime confident, with whom

[l] Ripamont. Hiſt. Mediol. lib. ix. p. 717.

he

he consulted in all affairs of importance. To his insinuations must be imputed the suspicions which Bourbon began to entertain, that the Emperor had never intended to grant him the investiture of Milan, but had appointed Leyva, and the other Spanish generals, rather to be spies on his conduct, than to co-operate heartily towards the execution of his schemes. To him likewise, as he still retained at the age of fourscore all the enterprizing spirit of youth, may be attributed the bold and unexpected measure on which Bourbon soon after ventured [m].

Book IV. 1526.

His deliberations with respect to his motions.

Such, indeed, were the exigencies of the Imperial troops in the Milanese, that it became indispensably necessary to take some immediate step for their relief. The arrears of the soldiers increased daily; the Emperor made no remittances to his generals; and the utmost rigour of military extortion could draw nothing more from a country entirely drained and ruined. In this situation there was no choice left, but either to disband the army, or to march for subsistence into the enemy's country. The territories of the Venetians lay nearest at hand; but they, with their usual foresight and prudence, had taken such precautions as secured them from any insult. Nothing, therefore, remained but to invade the dominions of the church, or of the

[m] Guic. l. xvii. 419.

Florentines;

Book IV. 1526. Florentines; and Clement had of late acted ſuch a part, as merited the ſevereſt vengeance from the Emperor. No ſooner did his troops return to Rome after the inſurrection of the Colonnas, than, without paying any regard to the treaty with Moncada, he degraded the Cardinal Colonna, excommunicated the reſt of the family, ſeized their places of ſtrength, and waſted their lands with all the cruelty which the ſmart of a recent injury naturally excites. After this, he turned his arms againſt Naples, and as his operations were ſeconded by the French fleet, he made ſome progreſs towards the conqueſt of that kingdom; the Viceroy being no leſs deſtitute than the other Imperial generals of the money requiſite for a vigorous defence[n].

1527. Marches to invade the Pope's territories.

THESE proceedings of the Pope juſtified, in appearance, the meaſures which Bourbon's ſituation rendered neceſſary; and he ſet about executing them under ſuch diſadvantages, as furniſh the ſtrongeſt proof both of the deſpair to which he was reduced, and of the greatneſs of his abilities which were able to ſurmount ſo many obſtacles. Having committed the government of Milan to Leyva, whom he was not unwilling January 30. to leave behind, he began his march in the depth of winter, at the head of twenty-five thouſand

[n] Jovii Vita Pomp. Colon. Guic. l. xviii. 424.

men,

men, composed of nations differing from each other in language and manners; without money, without magazines, without artillery, without carriages; in short, without any of those things which are necessary to the smallest party, and which seem essential to the existence and motions of a great army. His rout lay through a country cut by rivers and mountains, in which the roads were almost impracticable; as an addition to his difficulties, the enemy's army, superior to his own in number, was at hand to watch all his motions, and to improve every advantage. But his troops, impatient of their present hardships, and allured by the hopes of obtaining an immense booty, did not consider how ill provided they were for a march, and followed him with great cheerfulness. His first scheme was to have made himself master of Placentia, and to have gratified his soldiers with the plunder of that city; but the vigilance of the confederate generals rendered the design abortive; nor had he better success in his project for the reduction of Bologna, which was seasonably supplied with as many troops as secured it from the insults of an army which had neither artillery nor ammunition. Having failed in both these attempts to become master of some great city, he was under a necessity of advancing. But he had now been two months in the field;

Book IV. 1527. field; his troops had suffered every calamity which a long march, together with the uncommon rigour of the season, could bring upon men destitute of all necessary accommodations in an enemy's country; the magnificent promises to which they trusted, had proved altogether vain; they saw no prospect of relief; their patience, tried to the utmost, failed at last,

Mutiny of his troops.

and they broke out into open mutiny. Some officers, who rashly attempted to restrain them, fell victims to their fury; Bourbon himself, not daring to appear during the first transports of their rage, was obliged to fly secretly from his quarters [o]. But this sudden ebullition of wrath began at last to subside; when Bourbon, who possessed in a wonderful degree the art of governing the minds of soldiers, renewed his promises with more confidence than formerly, and assured them that they would be soon accomplished. He endeavoured to render their hardships more tolerable, by partaking of them himself; he fared no better than the meanest centinel; he marched along with them on foot; he joined them in singing their camp-ballads, in which, with high praises of his valour, they mingled many strokes of military raillery on his poverty; and wherever they came, he allowed them, as a foretaste of what he had promised, to plunder

[o] Guic. l. xviii. 434. Jovii Vit. Colon. 163.

the adjacent villages at discretion. Encouraged by all these soothing arts, they entirely forgot their sufferings and complaints, and followed him with the same implicit confidence as formerly [p]. Book IV. 1527.

The Pope's irresolution and imprudence.

Bourbon, meanwhile, carefully concealed his intentions. Rome and Florence, not knowing on which the blow would fall, were held in the most disquieting state of suspence. Clement, equally solicitous for the safety of both, fluctuated in more than his usual uncertainty; and while the rapid approach of danger called for prompt and decisive measures, he spent the time in deliberations which came to no issue, or in taking resolutions, which, next day, his restless mind, more sagacious in discerning than in obviating difficulties, overturned, without being able to fix on what should be substituted in their place. At one time he determined to unite himself more closely than ever with his allies, and to push on the war with vigour; at another, he inclined to bring all differences to a final accommodation by a treaty with Lannoy, who knowing his passion for negociation, solicited him incessantly with proposals for that purpose. His timidity at length prevailed, and

[p] Oeuvres de Brant. vol. iv. p. 24<, &c.

led

Book IV. 1527. March 15. Concludes a treaty with the Viceroy of Naples,

led him to conclude an agreement with Lannoy, of which the following were the chief articles: That a suspension of arms should take place between the Pontifical and Imperial troops for eight months; That Clement should advance sixty thousand crowns towards satisfying the demands of the Imperial army; That the Colonnas should be absolved from censure, and their former dignities and possessions be restored to them; That the viceroy should come to Rome, and prevent Bourbon from approaching nearer to that city, or to Florence [q]. On this hasty treaty, which deprived him of all hopes of assistance from his allies, without affording him any solid foundation of security, Clement relied so firmly, that, like a man extricated at once out of all difficulties, he was at perfect ease, and in the fulness of his confidence disbanded all his troops, except as many as were sufficient to guard his own person. This amazing confidence of Clement's, who on every other occasion was fearful and suspicious to excess, appeared so unaccountable to Guicciardini, who being at that time the pontifical commissary-general and resident in the confederate army, had great opportunity as well as great abilities for observing how chimerical all his hopes were, that he imputes the Pope's conduct,

[q] Guic. l. xviii. 436.

at this juncture, wholly to infatuation, which those who are doomed to ruin cannot avoid [r]. Book IV. 1527.

Lannoy, it would seem, intended to have executed the treaty with great sincerity; and having detached Clement from the confederacy, wished to turn Bourbon's arms against the Venetians, who, of all the powers at war with the Emperor, had exerted the greatest vigour. With this view he dispatched a courier to Bourbon, informing him of the suspension of arms, which, in the name of their common master, he had concluded with the Pope. Bourbon had other schemes; and he had prosecuted them now too far to think of retreating. To have mentioned a retreat to his soldiers, would have been dangerous; his command was independent on Lannoy; he was fond of mortifying a man whom he had many reasons to hate: for these reasons, without paying the least regard to the message, he continued to ravage the ecclesiastical territories, and to advance towards Florence. Upon this, all Clement's terror and anxiety returning with new force, he had recourse to Lannoy, and intreated and conjured him to put a stop to Bourbon's progress. Lannoy accordingly set out for his camp, but durst not approach it; Bourbon's soldiers having got notice which Bourbon disregards.

[r] Guic. lib. xviii. 446.

of

Book IV. 1527.

of the truce, raged and threatened, demanding the accomplishment of the promises to which they had trusted; their general himself could hardly restrain them; every person in Rome perceived that nothing remained but to prepare for resisting a storm which it was now impossible to dispel. Clement alone, relying on some ambiguous and deceitful professions which Bourbon made of his inclination towards peace, sunk back into his former security [a].

Advances towards Rome.

Bourbon, on his part, was far from being free from solicitude. All his attempts on any places of importance had hitherto miscarried; and Florence, towards which he had been approaching for some time, was, by the arrival of the duke d'Urbino's army, put in a condition to set his power at defiance. As it now became necessary to change his rout, and to take instantly some new resolution, he fixed without hesitation on one no less daring in itself, than it was impious according to the opinion of that age. This was to assault and plunder Rome. Many reasons, however, prompted him to it. He was fond of thwarting Lannoy, who had undertaken for the safety of that city; he imagined that the Emperor would be highly pleased to see Clement, the chief author of the league

[a] Guic. l. xviii. 437, &c. Mem. de Bellay, p. 100.

against

against him, humbled; he flattered himſelf, that by gratifying the rapacity of his ſoldiers with ſuch immenſe booty, he would attach them for ever to his intereſt; or (which is ſtill more probable than any of theſe) he hoped that by means of the power and fame, which he would acquire from the conqueſt of the firſt city in Chriſtendom, that he might lay the foundation of an independent power; and that after ſhaking off all connection with the Emperor, he might take poſſeſſion of Naples, or of ſome of the Italian ſtates in his own name [t].

Book IV. 1527.

The Pope's preparations for defence.

WHATEVER his motives were, he executed his reſolution with a rapidity equal to the boldneſs with which he had formed it. His ſoldiers, now that they had their prey in full view, complained neither of fatigue, nor famine, nor want of pay. No ſooner did they begin to move from Tuſcany towards Rome, than the Pope, ſenſible at laſt how fallacious the hopes had been on which he repoſed, ſtarted from his ſecurity. But no time now remained, even for a bold and deciſive Pontiff, to have taken proper meaſures, or to have formed any effectual plan of defence. Under Clement's feeble conduct, all was conſternation, diſorder, and irreſolution. He collected, however, ſuch of his diſbanded ſoldiers as ſtill remained in the

[t] Brant. iv. 271. vi. 189. Belcarii Comment. 594.

Book IV. 1527.

city; he armed the artificers of Rome, and the footmen and train-bearers of the Cardinals; he repaired the breaches in the walls; he begun to erect new works; he excommunicated Bourbon and all his troops, branding the Germans with the name of Lutherans, and the Spaniards with that of Moors[u]. Trusting to these ineffectual military preparations, or to his spiritual arms, which were still more despised by rapacious soldiers, he seems to have laid aside his natural timidity, and contrary to the advice of all his counsellors, determined to wait the approach of an enemy whom he might easily have avoided, by a timely retreat.

Assault of Rome.

Bourbon, who saw the necessity of dispatch, now that his intentions were known, advanced with such speed, that he gained several marches on the duke d'Urbino's army, and encamped in the plains of Rome on the evening of the fifth of May. From thence he shewed his soldiers the palaces and churches of that city, into which, as the capital of the Christian commonwealth, the wealth of all Europe had flowed during many centuries, without having been once violated by any hostile hand; and commanding them to refresh themselves that night, as a preparation for the assault next day, promised them in reward of their toils and valour,

[u] Seckend. lib. ii. 68.

the

the poſſeſſion of all the treaſures accumulated there. Book IV. 1527.

Early in the morning, Bourbon, who had determined to diſtinguiſh that day either by his death or the ſucceſs of his enterprize, appeared at the head of his troops, clad in complete armour, above which he wore a veſt of white tiſſue, that he might be more conſpicuous both to his friends and to his enemies; and as all depended on one bold impreſſion, he led them inſtantly to ſcale the walls. Three diſtinct bodies, one of Germans, another of Spaniards, and the laſt of Italians, the three different nations of whom the army was compoſed, were appointed to this ſervice; a ſeparate attack was aſſigned to each; and the whole army advanced to ſupport them as occaſion ſhould require. A thick miſt concealed their approach until they reached almoſt the brink of the ditch which ſurrounded the ſuburbs: having planted their ladders in a moment, each brigade ruſhed on to the aſſault with an impetuoſity heightened by national emulation. They were received at firſt with fortitude equal to their own; the Swiſs in the Pope's guards, and the veteran ſoldiers who had been aſſembled, fought with a courage becoming men to whom the defence of the nobleſt city in the world was entruſted. Bourbon's troops, notwithſtanding all their valour, gained no ground, and even began to

Book IV. 1527. Bourbon slain.

give way; when their leader, perceiving that on this critical moment the fate of the day depended, threw himself from his horse, pressed to the front, snatched a scaling ladder from a soldier, planted it against the wall, and began to mount it, encouraging his men with his voice and hand, to follow him. But at that very instant, a musket bullet from the ramparts pierced his groin with a wound, which he immediately felt to be mortal; but he retained so much presence of mind as to desire those who were near him to cover his body with a cloak, that his death might not dishearten his troops; and soon after he expired with a courage worthy of a better cause, and which would have entitled him to the highest praise, if he had thus fallen in defence of his country, not at the head of its enemies [x].

The city taken.

It was impossible to conceal this fatal event from the army; the soldiers soon missed their general, whom they were accustomed to see in every time of danger; but instead of being disheartened by their loss, it animated them with new valour; the name of Bourbon resounded along the line, accompanied with the cry of *blood* and *revenge*. The veterans who defended the walls, were soon overpowered by numbers; the untrained body of city recruits fled at the

[x] Mem. de Bellay, 101. Guic. l. xviii. p. 445, &c. Oeuv. de Brant. iv. 257, &c.

fight

ſight of danger, and the enemy with irreſiſtible violence ruſhed into the town. Book IV. 1527.

During the combat, Clement was employed at the altar of St. Peter's in offering up to Heaven unavailing prayers for victory. No ſooner was he informed that his troops began to give way, than he fled with precipitation; and with an infatuation ſtill more amazing than any thing already mentioned, inſtead of making his eſcape by the oppoſite gate where there was no enemy to oppoſe it, he ſhut himſelf up, together with thirteen cardinals, the foreign ambaſſadors, and many perſons of diſtinction, in the caſtle of St. Angelo, which, from his late misfortune, he might have known to be an inſecure retreat. In his way from the Vatican to that fortreſs, he ſaw his troops flying before an enemy who purſued without giving quarter; he heard the cries and lamentations of the Roman citizens, and beheld the beginning of thoſe calamities which his own credulity and ill-conduct had brought upon his ſubjects [y].

It is impoſſible to deſcribe, or even to imagine the miſery and horror of that ſcene which followed. Whatever a city taken by ſtorm can dread from military rage unreſtrained by diſcipline; whatever exceſſes the ferocity of the Germans, the avarice of the Spaniards, or the Plundered.

[y] Jov. Vit. Colon. 165.

Book IV. 1527. licentiousness of the Italians could commit, these the wretched inhabitants were obliged to suffer. Churches, palaces, and the houses of private persons were plundered without distinction. No age, or character, or sex was exempt from injury. Cardinals, nobles, priests, matrons, virgins, were all the prey of soldiers, and at the mercy of men deaf to the voice of humanity. Nor did these outrages cease, as is usual in towns which are carried by assault, when the first fury of the storm was over; the Imperialists kept possession of Rome several months; and during all that time the insolence and brutality of the soldiers hardly abated. Their booty in ready money alone amounted to a million of ducats; what they raised by ransoms and exactions far exceeded that sum. Rome, though taken several different times by the northern nations, who over-ran the Empire in the fifth and sixth centuries, was never treated with so much cruelty by the barbarous and heathen Huns, Vandals or Goths, as now by the bigotted subjects of a catholic Monarch [z].

The Pope besieged in the castle of St. Angelo. AFTER Bourbon's death, the command of the Imperial army devolved on Philibert de

[z] Jov. Vit. Colon. 166. Guic. l. xviii. 440, &c. Comment. de capta urbe Romæ ap. Scardium, ii. 230. Ulloi Vita dell. Carlo V. p. 110, &c. Gianonne Hist. of Nap. B. xxxi. c. 3. p. 507.

 Chalons

Chalons prince of Orange, who with difficulty prevailed on as many of his soldiers to desist from the pillage, as were necessary to invest the castle of St. Angelo. Clement was immediately sensible of his error in having retired into that ill-provided and untenable fort. But as the Imperialists, scorning discipline, and intent only on plunder, pushed the siege with little vigour, he did not despair of holding out, until the duke d'Urbino should come to his relief. That general advanced at the head of an army composed of Venetians, Florentines, and Swiss in the pay of France, of sufficient strength to have delivered Clement from the present danger. But d'Urbino, preferring the indulgence of his hatred against the family of Medici to the glory of delivering the capital of Christendom, and the head of the church, pronounced the enterprize to be too hazardous; and having, from an exquisite refinement in revenge, marched forward so far, that his army being seen from the ramparts of St. Angelo, flattered the Pope with the prospect of certain relief, he immediately retired [a]. Clement, deprived of every resource, and reduced to such extremity of famine as to feed on asses flesh [b], was obliged to capitulate on such conditions as the conquerors were pleased to prescribe. He agreed to pay four hundred thousand ducats to the army; to

Book IV. 1527.

Surrenders himself a prisoner. June 6.

[a] Guic. l. xviii. 450. [b] Jov. Vit. Colon. 167.

surrender

Book IV. 1527.

surrender to the Emperor all the places of ftrength belonging to the church; and, befides giving hoftages, to remain a prifoner himfelf until the chief articles were performed. He was committed to the care of Alarcon, who, by his fevere vigilance in guarding Francis, had given full proof of his being qualified for that office; and thus, by a fingular accident, the fame man had the cuftody of the two moft illuftrious perfonages who had been made prifoners in Europe during feveral ages.

The Emperor's behaviour at this juncture.

The account of this extraordinary and unexpected event was no lefs furprizing than agreeable to the Emperor. But in order to conceal his joy from his fubjects, who were filled with horror at the fuccefs and crimes of their countrymen, and to leffen the indignation of the reft of Europe, he declared that Rome had been affaulted without any order from him. He wrote to all the princes with whom he was in alliance, difclaiming his having had any knowledge of Bourbon's intention [c]. He put himfelf and court into mourning; commanded the rejoicings which had been ordered for the birth of his fon Philip to be ftopped; and employing an artifice no lefs hypocritical than grofs, he appointed prayers and proceffions throughout all Spain for the recovery of the Pope's liberty,

[c] Rufcelli Lettere di Principi, ii. 234.

which

which by an order to his generals he could have immediately granted him [e]. Book IV. 1527.

The good fortune of the house of Austria was no less conspicuous in another part of Europe. Solyman having invaded Hungary with an army three hundred thousand strong, Lewis II. King of that country, and of Bohemia, a weak and unexperienced prince, advanced rashly to meet him with a body of men which did not amount to thirty thousand. With an imprudence still more unpardonable, he gave the command of these troops to Paul Tomorri, a Franciscan monk, archbishop of Golocza. This aukward general, in the dress of his order, girt with its cord, marched at the head of the troops; and hurried on by his own presumption, as well as by the impetuosity of nobles who despised danger, but were impatient of long service, he fought the fatal battle of Mohacz, in which the King, the flower of the Hungarian nobility, and upwards of twenty thousand men, fell the victims of his folly and ill-conduct. Solyman, after his victory, seized and kept possession of several towns of greatest strength in the southern provinces of Hungary, and over-running the rest of the country, carried near two hundred thousand persons into captivity. As Lewis was the last male of the

Solyman invades Hungary.

Aug. 29, 1526.

Defeat of the Hungarians, and death of their King.

[e] Sleid. 109. Sandov. i. 822. Mauroc. Hist. Venets. lib. iii. 220.

4 royal

royal family of Jagellon, the Archduke Ferdinand claimed both his crowns. This claim was founded on a double title; the one derived from the ancient pretenſions of the houſe of Auſtria to both kingdoms; the other from the right of his wife, the only ſiſter of the deceaſed Monarch. The feudal inſtitutions however ſubſiſted both in Hungary and Bohemia in ſuch vigour, and the nobles poſſeſſed ſuch extenſive power, that the crowns were ſtill elective, and Ferdinand's rights, if they had not been powerfully ſupported, would have met with little regard. But his own perſonal merit; the reſpect due to the brother of the greateſt Monarch in Chriſtendom; the neceſſity of chuſing a prince able to afford his ſubjects ſome additional protection againſt the Turkiſh arms, which, as they had felt their weight ſo lately, they greatly dreaded; together with the intrigues of his ſiſter, who had been married to the late King, overcame the prejudices which the Hungarians had conceived againſt the Archduke as a foreigner; and though a conſiderable party voted for the Vaywode of Tranſilvania, at length ſecured Ferdinand the throne of that kingdom. The ſtates of Bohemia imitated the example of their neighbour kingdom; but in order to aſcertain and ſecure their own privileges, they obliged Ferdinand before his coronation, to ſubſcribe a deed which they term a *Reverſt*, declaring

Ferdinand elected King.

declaring that he held that crown not by any previous right, but by their gratuitous and voluntary election. By ſuch a vaſt acceſſion of territories, the hereditary poſſeſſion of which they ſecured in proceſs of time to their family, the princes of the houſe of Auſtria attained that pre-eminence in power which hath rendered them ſo formidable to the reſt of Germany *. 1527.

The diſſenſions between the Pope and Emperor proved extremely favourable to the progreſs of Lutheraniſm. Charles, exaſperated by Clement's conduct, and fully employed in oppoſing the league which he had formed againſt them, had little inclination and leſs leiſure to take any meaſures for ſuppreſſing the new opinions in Germany. In a diet of the Empire held at Spires, the ſtate of religion came to be conſidered, and all that the Emperor required of the princes was, that they would wait patiently, and without encouraging innovations, for the meeting of a general council which he had demanded of the Pope. They, in return, acknowledged the convocation of a council to be the proper and regular ſtep towards reforming abuſes in the church; but contended, that a national council held in Germany would be more effectual for that purpoſe than what he had propoſed. To his advice, concerning the

Progreſs of the Reformation.

June 25, 1526.

* Steph. Broderick Procancelarii Hungar. Clades in campo Mohacz ap. Scardium, ii. 218. P. Barre Hiſt. d'Allemagne, tom. viii. part i. p. 198.

diſcou-

Book IV. 1527.

discouragement of innovations, they paid so little regard, that even during the meeting of the diet at Spires, the divines who attended the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel thither, preached publicly, and administered the sacraments according to the rites of the reformed church[f]. The Emperor's own example imboldened the Germans to treat the Papal authority with little reverence. During the heat of his resentment against Clement, he had published a long reply to an angry brieve which the Pope had intended as an apology for his own conduct. In this manifesto, the Emperor, after having enumerated many instances of that Pontiff's ingratitude, deceit and ambition, all which he painted in the strongest and most aggravated colours, appealed from him to a general council. At the same time, he wrote to the college of Cardinals, complaining of Clement's partiality and injustice; and requiring them, if he refused or delayed to call a council, to manifest their concern for the peace of the Christian Church, so shamefully neglected by its chief pastor, by summoning that assembly in their own name[g]. This manifesto, little inferior in virulence to the invectives of Luther himself, was dispersed over Germany with great industry, and being eagerly read by persons of every rank, did much more than counterbalance the effect of all Charles's declarations against the new opinions.

[f] Sleid. 103. [g] Goldast. Polit. Imper. p. 984.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.